


THE NORTH: Peter Gzowski in Nunavut • TAXES: How to Ease the Burden

CANADA'S

WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

# Maclean's

APRIL 12, 1999



## Outrage IN KOSOVO

As air attacks fail to  
stop ethnic cleansing,  
NATO faces calls for  
a land invasion

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# From The Editor

## Feeling for the public's pulse



In the beginning, the federal Liberals were not sure about that Nunavut ceremony. Bad optics, they reasoned, an event that would only remind folks about even more spending of their hard-earned money by yet another government. Then private polls revealed a surprise: the people of Canada were genuinely excited about the birth of the new territory.

Here was a positive story. In Ottawa, they scrambled to give the Prime Minister and his northern affairs minister a boost from their offices. James Wolfe was in Igloolik last week for the official launch of Nunavut. It proved to be a heart-warming event.

Finance Minister Paul Martin has also picked up some contrarian views from focus groups staged across the country. Despite the cry for further immediate tax cuts, Martin has concluded that Canadians are willing to accept a slower pace. During a conversation with the *Maclean's* editorial board last week (page 18), Martin said it depends on the question: "I mean, if you say to them, 'Do you want tax cuts versus money going to education or money going to health care?' they'll tell you, 'We want money going to education or health care.' If you tell them essentially, 'Do you want to see your taxes down?' then their answer is unequivocally, 'Yes, I want to see my taxes down.'" Martin insists: "The government wants to cut taxes, the question is how much room does it have to maneuver."

Martin wants a full national debate on the issue—"just on the basis of some shrill statements coming out of Bay Street, but basically on rational basis as to what is the way to which you build a productive economy." What does Martin say when he meets with

business people who tell him that high taxes are driving them out of Canada? "Well, I tell them that they're nuts, so consequently now I don't meet with very many of them." He adds: "The debate is incredibly shrill. I'm trying to sell bonds on Bay Street and therefore I must be nuts. The fact is that isn't where Canadians are."

Martin, of course, is disingenuous on the matter of how much room there is for tax cuts. He has an established pattern of greatly underestimating his revenues—the better, it seems, to launch major spending programs at the end of the fiscal year with his "surprise" surplus. Many critics argue that Martin should be budgeting for tax cuts with the same enthusiasm he shows for finding surplus funds, the better to lighten the burden on the most heavily taxed sectors among the industrial nations (page 16). Kosovo, not taxes, was the main pre-occupation of the government last week. Reports from the region documented the tragedy of the refugees and the inability of the NATO alliance to stop Yugoslavia's escalating atrocities, Slobodan Milosevic (page 38). There were haunting accounts of mass deportations and atrocities by Serbian forces—telling reminders of the depravity that flows from a breakdown of civil order. In contrast, the dignified ceremony in Igloolik demonstrated that it is possible for people to pursue their aspirations with civility and peace. It was a welcome respite from concerns about death and taxes.



Martin at Maclean's: slow and steady tax cuts

Robert Lewis

## Newsroom Notes:

### Covering Kosovo's agony

Reporting from Albania for this week's cover package on the war over Kosovo, *Maclean's* Editor Bruce Wallace cast an experienced eye over the human misery he witnessed among the masses of displaced Kosovo Albanians arriving in the country. A veteran of reporting the Gulf War in 1991 and aid operations in the 1990s in

Somalia, Rwanda and the former Zaire, Wallace found most poignant the sight of a one-month-old baby wrapped in blankets in a room where 11 people were sleeping. "I thought, what kind of welcome to



Cover: Wallace (center) Phillips documenting a humanitarian crisis

the world is this," says Wallace, "and what lies ahead for that child?"

After watching the start of the NATO offensive from a base in Aviano, Italy, Europe Bureau Chief Barry Gorn, tried to enter Yugoslavia—but was detained for eight hours. Once released, he moved on to Macedonia, where he travelled to the border town of Blace to report on the deteriorating conditions of the refugees. Washington Editor Andrew Phillips followed the growing debate over sending in ground troops. Correspondent Guy Dorman reported from Belgrade. Covering the package was Senior Editor Berton Woodward.

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Serbian forces in Kosovo: sleep shame over Canada's role

## War is hell

I am deeply relieved that the Canadian government sent its military forces to Yugoslavia. ("Going to war," Cover, April 29.) I am a Serb who was ethnically cleansed from Sarajevo and recently became a Canadian citizen. Tomorrow's mind-boggling that NATO attacked my country without a UN Security Council resolution. My heart goes to my family and friends, and I never thought I would say this: I completely understand President Slobodan Milosevic's rejection of an agreement that nobody has seen.

Timor Zoric  
Belleville

Will NATO now amend its charter to include military action against any country in the world, regardless of the strength of the target nation's military forces, to justify its current activities? And if a general war were to erupt in Mexico, or between Scotland and Britain, or between Quebec and the rest of Canada, would NATO assemble a military force to bomb Mexico, England or Canada?

Charles Bozler  
Owensville, Ont.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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## Buy now, owe later

Canadian parents are crying the blues because the "average personal debt is greater than the average disposable income." ("That's a sinking feeling," Personal Finance, March 22.) And yet their kids, who we told in the cover story ("How teens got the power"), are awash in consumerism with \$500 a month to blow. Am I missing something here, or is the juxtaposition of these two articles just a little piece of editorial magic?

Kimberly Jordan Freeman,  
Surrey, England

That's not all the best of our dear materialist parties, not policies of the meek nor the voice we have had in the past. Rick Ray has shown, too late, how it should be done. And the party that sets up the CBC as independent from government in any way, yet is supported, will certainly get my vote.

Bill Seifried,  
Cambridge, Ont.

## Stronach's progress

Your excellent cover story on Frank Stronach ("Empire builder," March 29) seems to confirm George Bernard Shaw's adage: "The reasonable man adapts himself to the world; the unreasonable one persists in trying to adapt the world to himself. Therefore all progress depends on the unreasonable man."

Nikolai Scherbin,  
Nijmegen, Oct.



PHOTO BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS

Josh and Jay Thibault,  
Stratford, Ont.

Dulton Camp proves there is no Tory like a loyal Tory and to show loyalty to such a transparent, self-serving, corporate-driven opportunist of the Reagan Bush line is to further witness to our big vulnerability, almost lost here.

Matthew Joe,  
Toronto

Thanks for your touching editorial about Joe Clark ("Joe Clark is back—in time," From the Editor) and the Camp piece on Brian Mulroney, which almost served as a benediction for the man. It's to be hoped that the PCs can see how our country's policy lies before him—never let our party lines before him—never let our party lines before him—never let our party lines before him. For instance, the party that has built the bad effects of big business, while operating its advantages and supporting small business much more than any party has so far is probably going to be the next election. That probably means policies

You can always tell a master of his trade; he makes it look easy. No wonder Fred Couples' swing is the envy of golfers the world over. He makes launching a ball



300 yards down the fairway appear utterly effortless. Almost as effortless, in fact, as winding up his Rolex Day-Date inside its case is a little semi-circular weight that swings around a pivot as smoothly as Fred swings a driver, in the process, it translates even the slightest movement of the wrist into energy to keep the mainspring at optimum tension and ensure maximum reliability. So, even when Fred's sinking a putt, he's winding his Rolex.

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Rose Burch, NSL, reveals the scars of Confederation that make Newfoundland dependent

## Canada's poor cousin

YOur article "Fifty years of Confederation" (Canada/Special report, March 10) ignores the main reason Newfoundland will continue to be the poor cousin in Confederation. We lost control of our basic and fundamental resources—oil, fish, and water—when we joined Canada. We should, on the 50th anniversary of our contract with Canada, seek to reverse some of the oppressive terms that have made us weak and dependent and will continue to do so if they remain unaltered. That is the real challenge for our province and its leaders; otherwise there will be only a scattered few of us left to record the century. If we fail in this, the next generation of our best and brightest will be born across the Gulf. That is not a pleasant prospect for those of us who still regard this place as our home. God bless them, Newfoundland.

Donna Morris,  
Bay Roberts, NL

After years of anger and resentment brought on by the 1992 oil exploration, it is disappointing that the hopeful signs for Newfoundland's economy that your article has so eagerly cited are the increased wharfs, crabs and shellfish catches. Did we not learn our lesson from seven years ago? Similarly, jobs are being handed down to oil extraction projects such as Hibernia and Terra Nova, as well as mining operations such as Inco's Voisey's Bay nickel project. Can we really hope to build a strong economy on such a weak foundation? It appears that the government is eager to throw its

weight behind short-term economic fixes rather than self-sustainable, long-term economic development. We should be focusing our efforts on renewable opportunities rather than nonrenewable resources and the volatility they represent. British Columbia is currently experiencing a recession in large part due to its forestry-dependent economy. Alberta is also experiencing a dimmer economic future due to its largely oil-dependent economy. Canada is a country filled with intelligent, successful people. Shouldn't we be building a sustainable economy on the backs of these people, rather than pinching up our troubled natural resource-based economy?

Lee Spagnuolo,  
Windsor, Ont.

While it is sometimes fashionable to view Quebec as our only disaffected province, there are other examples. My father, who was born in 1896, leaves someone in Golden who flew the Nova Scotia flag at halfmast every July 1 from 1967 onward until his death.

R J Carven,  
Golden, Ont.

## Legal gender bias

Wonder how Beverly Smith came to the conclusion that the Canadian legal system is against women. ("A Canadian takes her case to the United Nations," Opening Notes, March 20). As far as I can see, the opposite is true, even in her own life. Smith had the choice either to be a sexually harassed child or stay at home. Her husband went. Why did

not have that choice—he has to earn the money to support her as well as the children. He is the one who is being discriminated against by the tax laws, not her. As to the legal system, she can, at any given moment, pick up the phone and allege that he has abused her. There is no need for proof—most provinces have a zero-tolerance policy in effect, which means that the man is arrested without questions. Why did that, she would likely be rewarded with sole custody and generous child support payments. There would also be spousal support. There is no question that there is gender bias in the Canadian legal system. Unfortunately, Smith has it the wrong way around.

Ken Sears,  
Gatineau

Beverly Smith is on the money. The tax laws of Revenue Canada are not only discriminatory, they define the person at home with the children as the chisel of the work supporter. Women, especially, have been relegated to second-class status and are often forced to remain in abusive situations because they have no personal income—what else are they forced to live off the largesse of the wage earner. It is time for the tax laws to be revised, with equality the goal by removal of all references to spouse. Tax individuals. Negotiate income tax is the solution. Revenue Canada, Human Resources Development Canada and the welfare part of Health Canada should be merged, and all financial transactions with Canadians managed under one roof. The elderly, the unemployed, all Canadians with zero or meagre income would get cash directly. Thousands of people would disappear from the welfare rolls. Every equal opportunity support group should champion this cause because money is the only equalizer.

Murray R. Dwyler,  
St. John's, NFL

## The first president

The one thing that Gerth Drabinsky cannot claim for sure is the title of "first Jewish president of the state of Israel" at North Toronto Collegiate ("Drabinsky as a young man on the inside," Peter C. Newman, Feb. 1). It was the first Jewish president of NTCI for the years 1955-1956 and Hal Pater was the next for the years 1956-1957. In 1955, Drabinsky would have been five years old.

Larry Silverman,  
Toronto

## Foreign aid

Thirty years ago this coming summer, I purchased my first subscription to *Abolition* from an attractive sales representative who approached me on the docks in Montreal. She was 38, and I must have had stars



nautica

A man in a dark suit and tie is looking directly at the camera with a serious expression. He is holding a rectangular sign with the word "ATTENTION!" in bold, yellow, sans-serif capital letters. The background is dark and out of focus, suggesting an office environment.

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## THE MAIL

In my eyes because I purchased a 25-year subscription, I don't believe I ever saw your lovely agent again, but I'm grateful for all the *Merlin's* I've seen since then. And this brings me to the purpose of my letter: read Finance Minister Paul Martin's Feb. 16 1996 budget, and you'll discover that Canada's commitment to foreign aid is in serious decline ("Grand Initiatives" *Canada*, Feb. 22). I understand that Canada's official development target for foreign aid, set by Lester Pearson's 20th government, is 0.7 per cent of gross domestic product. Yet for the year 2000-2001, our foreign aid spending will have dropped to a level of 0.26 per cent from a 1997-1998 level of 0.29 per cent. UNICEF estimates that every day 32,000 children die from mainly preventable causes. I am embarrassed as a Canadian that my country appears to be admitting defeat in the war against starvation and extreme poverty, when the solution is very much at hand.

Deag S. McGinnis,  
Calgary

## Leaving home

Contrary to Peter G. Newman's reference to high taxes as "the biggest threat to Canada's future" (*The Nation's Business*, March 8), I left Canada in 1959 for higher education, not lower taxes. For two decades, my wife and I met and entertained Canadian students, encouraging them to return home. I would not encourage them now. Our children are all employed in the United States for the following reasons:

1. Merit and competence count there.
2. The United States is an open system; ours is closed; opportunity versus staid in line and wait.
3. Canada offers no support for higher education.
4. Canada has little appreciation of talent—even an anti-intellectual bent.
5. Canada rarely lost in research and development.
6. Canada suffers from endless name padding for organizational and institutional change.
7. Canada uses 250,000+ public administration and policy analysts.
8. Canada values control over freedom.
9. The GST is a repulsive tax imposed against the welfare of citizenship.
10. Canada has an unhealthy concentration of power and wealth.

11. The megaproject mentality is pervasive in all Canadian governments at the expense of job-creating small business.
12. The banks are not interested in small business or Canada's well-being. Banks drive far more loans and entrepreneurs out of the country than loans ever have.
13. Taxes.

William G. Hulse,  
Oshkosh, Ill.



Gates, from an anti-establishment hero to the master of an 'evil empire'

## Heart problems

Your report about bacterial infection as a possible cause of heart disease ("Bacteria and the heart," *Health Monitor*, March 8) was potentially misleading. It stated that *Chlamydia pneumoniae* bacteria, which can be transmitted "sexually or by inhalation," can damage the heart and blood vessels. On a quick read, a reader might assume that the well-known sexually transmitted disease is the main concern here. In fact, there are three different types of *Chlamydia* bacteria (unrelated to the sexual disease) involved: *Chlamydia pneumoniae* (the most common), *Chlamydia trachomatis* (the most common sexually transmitted bacterium), and *Chlamydia psittaci* (the most common bird-related bacterium). While researchers theorize that only people with occultaneous immune systems are at risk, life's immune response that can trigger heart problems, the wide prevalence of *Chlamydia pneumoniae* is an important part of this news story.

Daniel Arbery,  
Burlington, Ont.

## Toppling giants

When Microsoft started out, it was the little guy jumping into bed with Big Blue, the symbol of corporate establishment (Bill Gates bestrides). Cover, March 12. When Microsoft beat IBM in the operating system wars, it was still considered a victory for the up-and-coming company that moved fast on its feet. Even though Microsoft had already grown into a giant by that time, it wasn't until it had just graduated from university at the time looked up to Microsoft and its CEO, Bill Gates—typical of the anti-establishment thinking generally found on university campuses. However, the tables have now turned. Microsoft is the "evil empire" now, and if you talk to the computer science students of today (who will be the programmers of tomorrow) most have an intense dislike for Microsoft, preferring instead to use the Linux as the operating system of choice. Microsoft has grown a time and again that it is no longer the agile company that took on IBM and won. It has become a behemoth that is slow to react. It may never come to pass that Linux will take over Microsoft in terms of number of installations, but we can look to the Apache Web server software as an example of freeware that has surpassed all other vendors (Microsoft included). By some counts, more than half of all

Web servers in the world are using Apache (which happens to be available for Linux, too). If Apache can do it, why not Linux?

Craig McQuinn,  
Toronto

## Cult of the Internet

The "delusions and madness of crowds" referred to by John Kenneth Galbraith in *The Myth of the Internet* (The Road Ahead, March 8), and the "Y2K problem" (The Mail as described by L.A. Cummings in the same issue) can only be explained by our love affair with information technology. As with any love affair, we overlook or ignore basic laws and irrational situations. It's the only explanation for why these incompetents who violated our trust and created a panic with the Y2K issue now expect us to buy their Internet stocks. These purveyors of information technology have created a disaster of misinformation followers that would make any religious cult envious.

Phyllis Cohen,  
Naperville, Ill.



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As in any fish tale, there will be a doubting-thief who would deem this story as pure fiction. To those, we offer some hard facts. In many Customer Service Satisfaction Surveys, Lexus dealers have been rated as highly as to become the standard for the industry.

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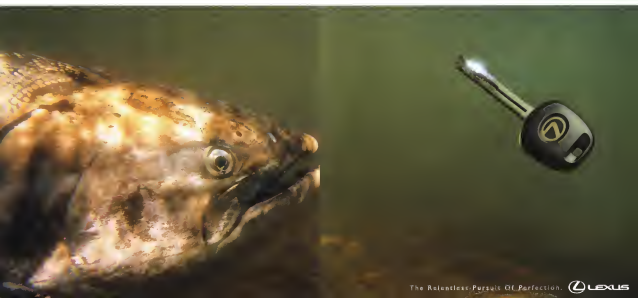
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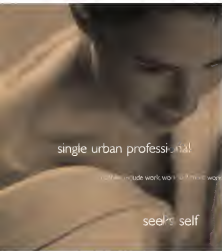
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## THE MAIL

### Women at work

In his column "The home fires burn"

[March 15], Bruce Wallace described an "aspirational" my prettier than upstairs who work outside the house work longer hours than stay-at-home mothers. I wish to point out that according to a Statistics Canada study based on the General Social Survey of 1990, "As Time Goes By: Time Use of Canadians," women with children who were employed full time spent an average of 10 hours per day working, compared with eight hours per day for mothers who were not employed. The women themselves answered the questions. When women enter the labour force, the amount of time spent at paid work is not equally offset by a decline in the time spent on unpaid work. Rather, total work time increases. This is not a feminist perspective, as Mr. Wallace says, but the result of actual objective data.

*Nedy Piro*  
Secretary of ethics, ethics of women  
Ottawa

### Travel and tourism

I have experienced many places in this great world—including the Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe—and object to Charles Gordon's remark: "Is real travel even necessary?" ("Bargain junkies over Victoria Falls," March 20). Such statements clearly illustrate the dramatic differences between the traveller who explores and experiences different cultures and the tourist who merely wants to photograph the highlights. The traveller seeks to understand, to learn from and to celebrate the differences among us—and does not demand or need the comforts of home. Travel is about the cultural experiences gained from the journey, the learning and experiencing the customs, traditions and ways of life of the locals. A traveller has respect. A tourist has a camera.

*Doreen McCall*  
Toronto

*If someone has a stubborn and rebellious son who will not obey his father and mother all the men of the town shall stone him to death*

—Deuteronomy 21:18-21

These days, even the strictest fundamentalist doesn't advocate stoning to death for disobedient sons. And yet if we do not believe in the entire New Testament morality, what do we believe in?

In our society there is a ferment of soul-searching about moral issues. Most of the important religions are deeply split over such questions as the treatment of homosexuals, abortion rights and capital punishment. Religious fundamentalists claim the answer is to be found in a never-changing moral code revealed by God, one that has come down from antiquity. Is there a never-changing morality? In the past, the Christian Church has felt obliged to torture and burn alive heretics and witches. The Christian ethic has changed—drastically. And no other religion can claim a never-changing moral code.

If there isn't an eternal morality, we need guidance in choosing a morality appropriate to our present-day society. Such a guide is available. Over 30 years ago, John Robinson, Church of England Bishop of Newburgh, wrote a book, *Homosexuality*, in which he suggested a rational basis for judgments about moral issues. Robinson denied that Christianity imposes a set of fixed, legislative, obligatory rules for deciding what is moral and what is not, in any specific situation. Instead, he proposed that any decision must be determined by the specific

of the situation, guided only by the basic ethic laid down by Jesus Christ—that all that counts is love of our fellow humans.

People who ask what is wrong with their behaviour are not satisfied with being told simply that the Bible lays down God-mandated rules as to what is right or wrong. Instead, Robinson proposed that every individual should be judged according to which decision will best promote happiness. Applied to the divorce issue, a decision—divorce or no—should be based not on any inflexible rule but on what is fairest for those concerned.

We may not see history and see how morality changes with times. In Old Testament days, infant mortality was so high that the survival of the tribe was in doubt. The tribal elders felt obliged to condemn unproductive ways like homosexuality. But it was not enough to tell the people to provide for the sake of the tribe. So homosexuality was deemed unfavourable by the tribe. Today, with our population growth in mind, it is the coincidence that homosexuals are emerging from the closet.

Robinson's approach suggests a procedure for forming a moral code for Canada in the 21st century. I propose a commission composed of representatives of the major religions, including humanists. It would discuss moral issues and propose an appropriate code of ethics. The sessions should be completely open so that all Canadians might be guided by observing the issues being aired.

Any code issuing from the commission would not be binding on us all. Rather it would be a guide for The perplexed.

*The Road Ahead* invites readers to answer specific questions in Canada's political, social and economic problems. Journalists' submissions may be considered as regular letters or appear as an electronic letter-head.

**Karl Bucknaght**  
Napier, Ont.

## Maclean's

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It was a good idea:  
Cross the sea with lines of ships.  
Cross the land with lines of steel.  
Tie the lines, draw them tight,  
and make a smaller world.

Forty years ago a simple idea  
shaped the world the box.  
The standardized container,  
which could be moved at  
unheard-of speed, from  
trucks to trains to ships  
From land to sea.

Almost overnight,  
the world became smaller.  
But world trade grew bigger.  
Fourteen times bigger, so far.  
And as trade grows,  
so do railways.

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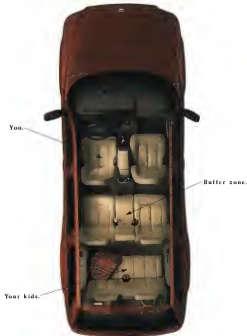






# Barbara Amiel

## Bombing Yugoslavia is wrong, wrong, wrong



The new Dodge Durango offers the most spacious interior in its class. With all seats up, including the optional third bench, you get room for up to eight people. With seats folded down, you get an unprecedented 242 cubic feet of cargo space. In other words, plenty of room between you and whatever you're carrying. Visit your local Dodge Truck Centre or our website: [www.chryslercanada.ca](http://www.chryslercanada.ca) or call 1 800 361 3700.

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**W**here in Bosnia now that the world really needs her? When she was around, active in the Oval Office focused on some accessible areas than Kosovo. Now, Bill has come on his hands and we have trouble on our hands. I cannot find a single redeeming aspect to the current policy of bombing attacks on Yugoslavia, if the aim was to subdue the singularly unpleasant Slobodan Milosevic, the bombing has simply united Serbs around him. If it was to protect the Albanian Kosovars, we have added their destruction. If it was to maintain the Balkans, we have added instability. If it was to protect our national interest against Greater Serbia, we risk more in creating a Greater Albania, which could inflame Muslim minorities in Macedonia as well as upsetting the delicate relationship between the Muslim Turks and the Orthodox Greeks.

This NATO policy discredits NATO itself, the United States of America, and the intelligences of the West's military. The cost of this policy, locally, morally and geopolitically, cannot be underestimated. When communism started collapsing in the mid '80s, not only in the Soviet Union but in all the republics that constituted the former Yugoslavia (Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and Serbia), the leaders who ran those republics shifted to nationalism to cling to power. Unsurprisingly, most old Communists brought their war-torn nationalism over to the newly created nationalities. Serbia was to Yugoslavia as Russia was to the USSR—the nerve centre keeping the republics together by force. Communist oppression was much less virulent in Yugoslavia than in the Soviet Union, but the people felt its smothering under a double oppression—that of communism itself and that of the Serbs. (Tito himself was a Croat, but they Slavs was a Georgian, Hitler an Austrian and Napoleon a Corsican. History has lessons for dictators from ethnic groups separate from their subjects.) Unfortunately, the nationalists that replaced communism were born before democracy and liberalism took root. Instead of recognizing that the best way for the West to deal with totalitarian nationalism was to quickly serve notice that the Serbs could not keep the Yugoslavs together against the people's will, the United States and Canada usually tried to prevent its breakup. We told those restless nationalist entities not to rock the boat. But Slovenia and Croatia were genuine defensible entities up until the end of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and ought to have immediately been recognized as independent countries.

After armed clashes between Serbs and Croats, the world belatedly told Serbia that it couldn't hold its consolidation together by force. At this point, if you are still with me, we got the lesson at Bosnia-Herzegovina, Uddin Stenovic and Croatia (each of which comprises essentially one ethnic group and one language), the Bos-

nian Yugoslav provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were made up of three distinct religious groups: the Bosnian Muslims, the Bosnian Serbs (formerly Greek Orthodox), and the Bosnian Catholic Croats. The sequestration of Bosnia-Herzegovina sparked a fight between all Bosnians and the Bosnian Muslims—a genuine civil war. The peace agreement concluded in Dayton, Ohio, in November, 1995, created de facto ethnic cleansing, with Bosnia-Herzegovina divided into a Muslim-Croat federation and a Serbian area that calls itself the Republic of Serbia and wants union with Serbia.

Kosovo, meanwhile, is a landlocked region that has been part of the pan-Slav nation for centuries. It is entirely unrealistic to expect the Serbs to give up Kosovo. That would be like the United States giving up Texas or California should Mexico become the majority

there. We could get Serbia to give up Kosovo, but that would require detaching Serbia entirely. Of course you could bomb Serbia for two months, or eight months, or however long it would take to drive it back into the Stone Age by destroying its electrical and water supplies, all its infrastructure and so forth. Our war could be imposed. Still enough Serbia and you will get a victory. But how can NATO justify warring away a province from a sovereign power by massive slaughter?

The NATO policy towards Kosovo embraces wilful ignorance and tragedy. Its cost cannot be underestimated. The NATO policy towards Kosovo embraces wilful ignorance and tragedy. The Kosovars were split between groups that wanted their autonomy but not those that wanted full independence. Our "generally speaking," with the promise that we would back it up with bombing if the Serbs didn't agree, encouraged Kosovo separatists—just as we encouraged the Kurds against Saddam (and a whole lot of betrayed residents from the Kurds in 1992 to the Kurds in 1992). If we had stayed out of it, Kosovo would have had to resolve an accommodation with the Serbs. The regime would have been hostile, but Kosovo would not have been blasted to bits. When I wrote some time ago that this dispute had to be worked out locally, I was accused of being inhumane. Now, look at the refugees fleeing Serbian slaughter and our bombing. How much more humane is this current policy?

In a Pentagon briefing last week, spokesman Eric Bacon explained how food supplies that could feed 400,000 people for six months had been dropped in the region. And where did they put these supplies? In Kosovo, Belgrade and Montenegro—that is, in Muslim Yugoslavia. Because, explained Mr. Bacon, during the Bosnian war they had deported food supplies in Belgrade, and relief organizations there had no trouble shipping them out to Bosnia. A bright spokesperson might have explained to the Pentagon that there is a difference between the Bosnian conflict in which the Serbs were siding with one of the parties and this situation in which we're feeding the food we are bombing. Six-year-olds would be too smart to do that.

# Opening NOTES

Edited by JANA JAMES



D'Astous: his bottle project has let him hear the students

## A message to the world

A message in a bottle it's an artifact more associated with stranded sailors than with students, but it has captured the imagination of insouciant teens at Saint-Coeur school in Grenby, Que. As part of their English instruction, learning disabled students in grades 8 and 9 stuffed messages into 150 bottles, then set them adrift on the Atlantic Ocean in May 1997. "I told them not to expect a response in two weeks," says teacher Louis D'Astous, who created the project. In each plastic pop bottle, the 120 students included a composition in English about themselves and five questions for the bottle's finder. It took 10 months for their first response—all the way from Skars, Denmark, approximately 2,000 km away. Then, last fall, a Bernadine was wrote to the students that finding a bottle with a message in it fulfilled a childhood dream. The latest reply arrived on March 22 from a 12-year-old Scottish girl who found the container near her home of Sicula on the Orkney Islands. But the most touching response came from closer to home, a letter from a woman in Piggys Cove, N.S., who found a bottle during the recovery effort after September's Swissair tragedy, and called it a "terrible stress reliever." D'Astous says the project has changed the students' attitudes. "At the beginning of the year they always ask, 'Why are we learning English?'" The bobbing bottles, he explains, have helped to answer that question, showing them that English is spoken around the world.



## CAPITAL CONFIDENTIAL

It took a timely political issue to get Newfoundland into Confederation 50 years ago. So it seems fitting that politicians permitted last week's anniversary celebrations in St. John's, Newfoundland. Premier Brian Tobin eased the March 31 gala because he was stuck in the House of Assembly debating back-to-work legislation to end a strike by provincial nurses.

That left Judreau Tobin, the premier's wife, to escort Prime Minister Jean Chretien to the gala celebration, where she sat between him and Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard, the only other First Minister to attend the event. A Tobin spokeswoman said the other priorities were busy with government business. Bouchard, though, had his own reasons for being in St. John's. In a speech, he declared that if 10 per cent support for Confederation was good enough to bring Newfoundland into Canada, there's a simple majority vote should be sufficient

for Quebecers to leave Confederation. Chretien used his speech to stress that Newfoundland's decision to join Canada had no relation to Quebec's situation. Tobin—who recently scored a drawing-down from Chretien in February for publicly jolting Bouchard in denouncing the federal budget—said in a news conference that the prime minister Quebec should take from Newfoundland's experience is that "you can have a great love and passion for your country, but an equal love and passion for your own people and province."

Bouchard and Tobin later dipped away to discuss this week's resumption of talks over the Lower Churchill Falls hydroelectric project. Tobin, after all, called a February election after claiming he needed a strengthened mandate to negotiate resource development with Quebec. So, grabbing a few minutes during last week's hectic and hectic was simply good politics.



Chretien (left), Judreau Tobin and Bouchard: a political celebration

## EMPORIUM

The world's 10 legal mechanic centers, with diameter in kilometers:

1. Vredstad, South Africa 1,200-250
2. Saultoy, Ont. 1,200-140
3. Maitland, Ont. 1,200-100
4. Piquette, Russia 1,200-100
5. Puchuck, Kansas, Russia 1,200-80
6. Rait, Russia 1,200-60
7. Saitan, Russia 1,200-52
8. Chertov, Ont. 1,200-46
9. Anagnina Dome, Brazil 1,200-40
10. Goret, Saitan 1,200-37

Source: The World's 10 Legal Mechanic Centers, 1997. All measurements in kilometers.

## GOLDFARB POLL

If Canadians buy lottery tickets, they go for the big bucks. Where 1,400 adults were asked if they played various types of lotteries, the majority replied that they buy Lotto 6/49 tickets, which offer less a million-dollar payoff. By percentage:

	TOTAL CANADA
Lotto 6/49	21
Instant Bingo	43
Instant Keno	24

Source: Goldfarb Poll, 1997. Goldfarb & Associates Ltd.

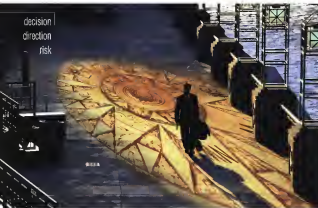
if you had any more choice  
we'd probably land  
before you decide

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the next time you're flying in our Business Class  
select your favourites from a menu of catered  
side dishes and exclusive wines  
then sit back to a meal that's just to your liking



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## DOUBLE TAKE

### Allan Blakeney

**D**URING THE 1970s, Saskatchewan NDP premier Allan Blakeney—an expert on Prairie agricultural issues—was often seen by others as the epitome of his province: low-key, the former Rhodes Scholar grew up in Nova Scotia. Now 73 and living in Saskatoon, Blakeney is head of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association and sits on Algonquin Shores's board with former Ontario Conservative premier Bill Davis. "It's his talking about old times," says Blakeney, recalling the con-

fusion. Blakeney graduated with a law degree from Dalhousie University in 1947 before going on to Oxford University. He returned to Canada and became secretary of Crowe Corporation for Saskatchewan. Elected to the provincial legislature, he was chosen party leader and in 1971 won the election. In 1982, his government was defeated, and the years later he left politics.

Married to his wife, Anne, for 40 years, Blakeney talks regularly with Premier and fellow New Democrat, Roy Romanow, sometimes providing advice. "Don't forget," jokes Blakeney. "I was once his boss."

LESLIE FISHER

## Y2K conception day

**W**ANT to celebrate the millennium with a Y2K baby? Well, according to fertility experts, April 9 is the best day to conceive a New Year's Day, 2000, bundle of joy. In the spirit of leading a hard, overtly radio stations across Canada have created conception contests, giving entrants free hotel rooms, love potions—and, in the case of Calgary's CJAY 92, a whole world's worth of attempts to create babies with as little help as possible.

In Toronto, the 39 couples selected for Q107's Y2K Con-

ception Day-The Brender's Cup Contest are getting dinner, sex tips and a free hotel room to help them on their way. Couples had to convince station hosts—the same people who put shock jock Howard Stern on Canadian airwaves—that they should be the lucky recipients. "A lot were saying that they were ovulating that day," says promotion assistant Catherine Neal, who adds that couples who do give birth on Jan. 1 will share \$107,000. "It seems like everyone is ovulating on April 9."

## BEST-SELLERS

### FICTION

- 1 *Signa's Signa*, John L. Carr (1)
- 2 *Ultimate the Hunter*, Anne Rice (2)
- 3 *The Testament*, John Grisham (3)
- 4 *The Game of a Good Woman*, Alice Moore (4)
- 5 *Elizabeth and Her*, John Grisham (5)
- 6 *The Prisoner's Wife*, Barbara Caplan (6)
- 7 *Little Green Man*, Christopher Buckley (7)
- 8 *Love from the First Lady*, Sheri Fink (8)
- 9 *Joe Doe*, Sherry Leonard (9)
- 10 *The New England*, John Grisham (10)

### NONFICTION

- 1 *The Gorge in the West*, John Grisham (1)
- 2 *The Infirmary*, Christopher Buckley (2)
- 3 *Clay's Life*, John Grisham (3)
- 4 *News of the World*, John Grisham (4)
- 5 *A History of the Twentieth Century 1900-1991*, John Grisham (5)
- 6 *Notes from a Big Storm*, John Grisham (6)
- 7 *Building the Speed of Thought*, John Grisham (7)
- 8 *Notes*, John Grisham (8)
- 9 *The Prisoner's Wife*, Barbara Caplan (9)
- 10 *Notes from the First Lady*, Sheri Fink (10)
- 11 *The Game of a Good Woman*, Alice Moore (11)
- 12 *Notes from the First Lady*, Sheri Fink (12)

## Gourmet food, Barbados-style

**I**n his memoir *Pig Dusk: A Breadfruit Recipe of Slave Food* (Random House), Toronto writer Austin Clarke reminisces about the food he ate and the memories that went into making it, while growing up in Barbados. Each chapter is based on one of his favourite island recipes, including smoked hain tacks with lime sauce and pelau.



# Passages

**SURPASSED:** Gordie Howe's career goal record of 1,071 goals, by Wayne Gretzky. 38, in New York City. Gretzky accumulated his 1,072 regular-season goals during 20 seasons in the National Hockey League and one in the now-defunct World Hockey Association. Howe, now 71, scored his total during his 26 years in the NHL and WHA. Although Gretzky's latest achievement is not considered a record by the NHL, because the league does not recognize WHA scores, he already holds the NHL regular-season goals record of 894 goals.



**DIED:** Musician Jerry Todd, 70, the man who popularized the theme for *Hockey Night in Canada* after a lengthy battle with Parkinson's disease, in Toronto. The native of Windsor, Ont., was a saxophonist with the Boss Brass and was the principal sax player on 1950s television shows, including *The Hot Parade* and *Wayne and Shuster*.

**DIED:** Jazz singer Joe Williams, 60, who collapsed after walking out of a Las Vegas hospital where he was being treated for a respiratory ailment. Williams played with the Count Basie Orchestra in the 1950s before going solo. He won a Grammy Award in 1964 for his album *Nature* but the Blues.

**REPRIMANDED:** Dr. Henry Morrison, 43, of the Nova Scotia College of Physicians and Surgeons after she admitted that she acted in her treatment of terminally ill cancer patient Paul Mills, who died in 1996. In Halifax, Morrison was charged with murdering Mills by administering isotretinoin and potassium chloride after massive doses of painkillers failed to relieve his suffering. The Crown ended its efforts to prosecute Morrison last December after the Nova Scotia Supreme Court dismissed an attempt to revive a criminal case against the Halifax neurologist.

**DIED:** Photographer Lucien Agner, 97, in Wellesley, Mass. The Hingham-born Agner was one of the first to pioneer the use of the 35-mm camera. Among his better-known shots were a photo of Albert Einstein in 1941, and a 1935 photo of Italian dictator Benito Mussolini that appeared on the cover of *Newsweek* magazine in 1943.

# THE TAX TRAP

BY MARY JANNIGAN

In the end, frustrated and exasperated, Paul Lee reluctantly concluded that the tax system had impeded the growth of the computer games firm that he wanted for at every turn. Despite their high salaries, software engineers and graphic artists were slipping out of Vancouver, bound for higher after-tax pay packets at other companies in the United States. When Lee, a senior vice-president, tried to recruit employees from the United Kingdom or the United States, they calculated their prospective after-tax incomes—and many scoffed away. So when Electronic Arts Inc. moved the rights to create *Parasite One* video games based on the *Indiana Jones* movie, Lee concluded it would be a difficult scramble to find staff to produce the games at the U.S.-based firm's development headquarters in Vancouver (instead, Electronic Arts agreed to design them at its office in London, where it is easier to recruit employees who are skilled in game development—and where personal income taxes are lower. And that means 60 to 100 new British jobs over the next few months).

Lee figures that Electronic Arts, the world's largest developer of video software games, loses more than seven per cent of its 500 Vancouver employees to the United States each year. At least 30 jobs are now unfilled. The firm could have created another 200 jobs in Canada over the last two years—if it could have found the staff. Canadian tax rates are not the only reason for Lee's problems: skilled computer experts often relish the prospect of lucrative challenges and novel locales. But taxes are "more than 60 percent" of his dilemma, Lee maintains. "The major input for high tech is people—and when they are taxed at such extraordinarily high rates, you cannot maintain a viable workforce," he complains. George Hunter, executive director of the B.C. Technology Industries Association, is even blunter: "There is an old adage that applies here: high taxes do not redistribute wealth—they redistribute taxpayers," he says. "Here in the trenches, people are just pulling their hair out."

"Taxes may be the glue that bind society together—but they are gripping many Canadians too tightly these days. The tax rates burden, which is a distortion of everything from income and sales taxes to property taxes in relation to the size of the economy—but an all-time high in 1996, the most recent year for which figures are available. At 36.8 per cent of the size of the economy, Canada's tax burden was

almost one full percentage point higher than that of the United Kingdom—and more than eight percentage points higher than in the United States.

Worse, the personal income tax burden is especially onerous. Over the past five years, the federal take from personal income taxes has grown almost twice as fast as gross domestic product—and almost 2½ times as fast as wages. Personal income taxes in relation to GDP are almost five percentage points higher than in the United Kingdom and more than three percentage points higher than in the United States. That may not sound like much—but each percentage point represents billions of dollars. Canada has the highest personal income tax levels among the G-7 industrial nations. It is no wonder that Lee

is having problems. Vancouver is closer to Washington, which has no state income taxes, and beside Alberta, one of the lowest tax jurisdictions in Canada. To add to his woes, British Columbia's high-income earners are debilitated with steep surtaxes.

The "tax factor" has become a serious consideration for highly skilled workers who are most in demand south of the border. Statistics Canada officials met on March 30 with U.S. immigration officials in a bid to determine how many skilled Canadians are migrating to the United States on temporary visas. Although the 1997 data are unavailable, officials told Maclean's they suspect that number is now about 20,000 people per year—and they believe it has almost certainly risen over the past five years. (Another 8,770 workers permanently emigrated in 1995.) "Those, especially personal income taxes, are no laugh in Canada because the United States is able to attract the best talent south—and that talent has been educated by Canadian taxpayers," says Donald Johnson, secretary general of the Paris-based Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. "Canada has to deal with the low U.S. tax rate in order to attract its brain drain."

But the price of high taxes is not restricted to the loss of high-

flying, highly educated personnel. Every Canadian responds when their tax rates are raised. People stop working as hard. Investment falls. Marginal tax rates—that is, the steepest tax rate that any individual taxpayer faces—are highest on workers with children who earn about \$20,000, largely because that is when Ottawa and the provinces claw back credits such as the National Child Benefit. It sounds almost unbelievable, but more than 66 cents of each extra dollar of income at that level goes to taxes. So there is little incentive to work extra hours. "I have joked that we should have a constitutional amendment that no Canadian should pay a higher marginal rate of tax than [millionaire media baron] Rex Thomson," says economist Thomas Wilson, director of the University of Toronto's policy and economic studies program.

The struggle to keep ahead has taken its toll. Canadians saved a paltry four-fifths of one per cent of their personal disposable income in the fourth quarter of last year. That is down from 1½ per cent in the same period in 1990. By late last year, their debts, including mortgages, were virtually equal to their personal disposable income—up from 80 per cent of their income in 1990.

Halifax resident Elie Jervet and her husband, Jim, recently purchased a house—and four months ago they had their first child, Emma. An eight-month-old youngster, Emma is now one year old. Jim, a 36-year-old, works two weeks from Employment Insurance. Jim works as a shipping receiver at a dairy. Their combined

household income now ranges between \$42,000 and \$45,000. Their child tax benefit payments—the highest at \$250 a month for families earning less than \$21,000 with one child under the age of 7—is only \$49. "Taxes are just crazy," laments Elie. "If you work overtime, you might as well work for free." She pauses. "I just shouldn't be so hard getting by," she adds. "It is a lot of stress. There has to be more that governments can do. They are oversteering to the rich and to the poor—but we are the ones paying for all the social programs."

And governments are demanding more. According to the Vancouver-based Fraser Institute, the average Canadian yearly worked almost one month less year—until

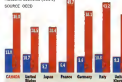
June 27—just to pay his total tax bill to all levels of government. In 1961, that date was May 3. The institute has also calculated that the total tax bill—everything from income taxes to excise taxes—has gone up 1,286 per cent since 1961—while prices rose by 980 per cent, food by 414 per cent and clothing by 387 per cent. Of course, incomes grew over this period. But there was also a 36.5 per cent increase in the tax rate. Adjusting for inflation, the family's tax bill went from \$9,779 in 1961 to \$25,325 in 1996.

Everybody loses when governments gobble too much money. Canadians avoid or evade taxes. The underground

## A GLOBALLY TAXING SITUATION

Personal income taxes and total tax revenues as percentages of GDP in the major industrial countries (1996)

SOURCE: OECD





economy boomed. Worst of all, taxes hit the economy where it hurts most: there is less money available for savings and investments in the driver innovations that are vital for growth. In 1999, Canadian investments in machinery and equipment were a paltry 8.6 per cent of the size of the economy—compared with 7.6 per cent in Great Britain and 8.3 per cent in the United States.

These lagging investments undermine Canada's efforts to boost its overall productivity—that is, the value of output divided by the capital and labour used to produce it. Although the method of measuring productivity growth is in dispute, Canada has almost certainly trailed behind the United States for much of the past two decades. The OECD predicts that Canada's standard of living will slip noticeably below the average of its 29 members over the next two decades. As University of Western Ontario economist Jim Davies warns: "With high tax rates, there is less investment in structures and machinery and equipment. And that is part of the reason that our productivity levels have lagged."

The debate about taxes is obviously part of a wider discussion about the size of government itself: that is, what do Canadians want their governments to do? Ottawa's budget is now about \$136 billion, or about 17 per cent of the size of the economy. By 2015, according to a tandem with economic growth. For the past three years, with conservative cutting, federal Finance Minister Paul Martin has underfunded his revenues—and then spent much of each potential surplus on programs such as health care before the fiscal year ended. Many experts maintain the minister should change that controversial approach: he should set out mid-year targets for tax reductions—so that, as he says, he can take careful consideration that he spends money that the general public "wants to invest in tax cuts," argues University of Toronto economist Jack Mintz. "Maybe we had to take care of education and health in the last two budgets. But now we should set up a framework—and we should try for planned cuts of 10 to 15 per cent at the federal level over the next three to four years."

Melanie and Keith Jollymore run a driving firm, Jollymore Commissions, from their home in Lawrenceville, 40 km east of Richmond Hill. With their 15-month-old son Benjamin, they live as outcasts in a 150-year-old house on an herb farm. They are saving for their own home, their retirements and Benjamin's education. And they are disturbed by how little they can save off from their taxable income—even though their taxes in their home—and by how they must pay almost a third of their income to governments. "We are splitting a single job so there is not a whole lot of cash around," says Melanie, 32. "Most people feel the way we do: they hate to see so much money going into governments and things that are politically motivated. If it went into tax relief, it would have a better effect on people's lives."

The problem, of course, is what is good

spending and what is bad spending? Canadians do receive major benefits from their tax dollars, everything from health care to support for low-income children. Medicare alone accounts for about two percentage points of the difference between the Canadian and U.S. tax burdens. But Canadians have willingly and proudly paid that price. In effect, citizens accept heavier burdens when they believe they are getting their money's worth. "You can get by with a higher level of taxation if you have a high level of public services," notes David Perry, senior research associate at the Canadian Tax Foundation. "You cannot make generalizations about tax levels; much depends on just feeling. But it would seem that we overstepped that margin when we increased taxes to reduce deficits."

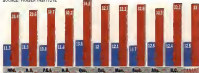
Canada's tax burden also appears heavier because so much revenue must now be diverted to pay the interest costs on the \$689-billion federal debt. During the 1970s and 1980s, Ottawa and the provinces ran up huge annual deficits. Canadians were being asked to pay more. As a result, interest on the federal debt now consumes 20 cents of every revenue dollar—compared with 15 cents in the United States. The party is over—but the guests can't

**Melanie and Keith Jollymore; Lee (right): everything from health care to support for low-income children. Medicare alone accounts for about two percentage points of the difference between the Canadian and U.S. tax burdens. But Canadians have willingly and proudly paid that price. In effect, citizens accept heavier burdens when they believe they are getting their money's worth.**

## HOW THE PROVINCES MEASURE UP

Taxes as a percentage of average total family income (1999)

SOURCE: FRASER INSTITUTE



## The tax burden has become a serious consideration for skilled workers who are in demand south of the border

escape. "In the past, Canadians spent more on themselves than they earned," says former Toronto tax lawyer William Macdonald, who is now a strategic consultant on public policy issues. "Today, they are being forced to earn more than they spend on themselves."

To add to that discontent, taxes have been steadily increasing because of a derelict consensus called partial privatization. Prior to 1984, the tax system responded to every move in inflation. If inflation went up three per cent, corporate taxes went up three per cent. Then the system changed: everything rose only when inflation exceeded three per cent—and only by the amount that exceeded three per cent. As a result, since 1985, nothing has

budgeted, basic exemptions, and the levels of which higher rates cut in, are exactly where they were seven years ago.

The effect has been brutal. Between 1986 and 1998, for example, 1.4 million low-income Canadians were forced to pay more. Their incomes rose with inflation—but their disposable did not. Ottawa raised an extra \$50 billion between 1989 and 1998 because of this device. (Tax cuts in the last two budgets have taken \$80,000 of the \$1.4 million loss income taxpayers took out of the system.) Meanwhile, the Ottawa-based Caledon Institute of Social Policy notes that tax reductions in this year's budget will cut revenues by \$1.3 billion in 1999-2000—but partial privatization will raise revenues by \$400 million. So 56 per cent of that \$1.3 billion is already taken back. "Partial privatization is an endgame move—an excuse to change first payments to a hidden tax increase," says Caledon president Ken Biele.

It is perhaps no wonder that the transplanted Canadian Taxpayers Federation scrutinizes government spending, focusing out the sort of projects that Melanie Jollymore objects to. Last month, with great flourish, federal director Walter Robinson staged a mock award show to bestow "badges of shame" on governments that squander taxpayer funds. The federal prize went to the public works department that allowed Telford's rail conversion to be under \$1 billion and not \$1.4 billion. "We are over-spending on our own government's own track," Robinson asserts. "The principle of reallocation should be employed. Take that \$1 billion from recreation activities—and put that rate into priorities like health care or tax cuts."

Such scrutiny is certainly worth the effort. University of Alberta economist Rex Doherty estimates that every dollar in federal tax cuts means about \$1.38 in additional economic activity—although it may take about five years for those benefits to

## GOING DOWN THE ROAD

Read! Schick will remember April 4, 1997. It was the day he walked into his two-bedroom Vancouver apartment and announced to his then-common-law spouse, Beth Fleming, that he had just accepted a higher-paid position with a telecommunications firm in Santa Barbara, Calif. Schick, a 1995 computer engineering graduate from the University of Waterloo, says two things factored into his decision. He felt the company he was working for was too small to compete in the high-tech market, and he knew with the lower taxes he would pay in California, he and Fleming could save for raising a family. Two years later, and now married, Schick, 28, and Fleming, 31, have found a great deal of financial security. Schick earns about \$113,000, more than twice as much as he did in Canada—and pays about 10-per-cent less in taxes. Stock options have yielded about \$75,000, allowing the couple to buy their first home—a 76.5-square-meter bungalow, 10 minutes from the Pacific Ocean. And he can write off

the interest from his mortgage payments.

"We are much further ahead than we had played in Canada," Schick says. "Our goal is to return one day. And financially with the exchange rate, our savings and investments will allow us to live well."

Like Schick, many Canadians are lured south of the 49th parallel by tax incentives, financial opportunities, and a lifestyle. Fisher-Giffin, 49, moved with her newly wed husband from Toronto to Silicon Valley in California, where she went to work for Sun Microsystems Inc. as a head of an international services division. A stay-at-home mom during her first marriage life with two children, all of them living on their own, Fisher-Giffin felt she had a lot of making saving to do. She was also tired of seeing a large portion of her salary absorbed in taxes. "I have a psychological barrier past the 50-per-cent mark," says Fisher-Giffin, who now earns more than \$150,000—and pays about 15 per cent less in income tax than she did in Canada. "When, for every dollar I make, I can't even keep

half, it becomes discouraging and unfair." Although the rich financial rewards of working in the United States are clear, so are the trade-offs. Toronto-born child psychologist and author of *How to Survive in America* and now lives in Seattle, Bruce Muth. Though she earns about \$90,000 for nine months of work (she takes one week off each month), Channell says there are things that concern her about remaining in the United States. She and her husband, a financial analyst, have a young son for health insurance that wouldn't cover them fully in an emergency. And then there is the crime. Though Channell does not yet have children of her own, she is fearful of the violence, gangs, knives and guns that are in the schools. "There is so much pressure on parents to do financial stuff with their kids, they often have three warring roles and families. I have concerns about raising children in this environment. It all comes down to whether money dictates your quality of life." In the end, there are some sacrifices for money she will not make.

SUSAN MCCLELLAND with SUSAN OH in Toronto

upset. "Government provides us with services that are extremely valuable," he says. "The question that we have is whether or not the benefits worth the costs?"

Wacoover's Douglas Le Patourel, a commercial real-estate agent with a wife and two young children, is enmeshed with his tax bill. His income is high; he pays British Columbia's top marginal tax rate of 53.3 per cent—the second highest in the nation after Newfoundland's 53.9 per cent. "I spend more money on government than I ever have in my life," he says. "It's way more than I pay for accommodation, for food, for any of the basic things in life. That's got to be wrong." When asked if he is about to revolt, Le Patourel can only sigh. "Tax revolts? People don't have the time to revolt. It's easier to relocate."

Prior to Ontario's Feb. 26 budget, the pressure on the federal government for tax cuts mirrored, along with health care, into the so-called critical range in the public survey of 1,600 respondents, Toronto-based pollster Michael Marcolin, chairman of POLLARA Inc., found that 54 per cent of Canadians were "very concerned" about the level of taxation. "People have seen their 50c-a-litre groceries shrink—and they are concerned about their standard of living," says Marcolin, who is in the Liberal's pollsters. "They want to know that their taxes are on a sound base."

Despite that pressure, many finance ministers have stalled for time. Although Quebec is in the highest tax jurisdiction in North America, it delivered personal income tax cuts to July 2006—and limited those cuts to a relatively paltry \$400 million. Alberta is moving to a flat provincial income tax rate of 11 per cent of taxable income, but it has postponed that reduction until 2010.

Meanwhile, Martin's 1998-2004 cuts have been relatively small. He spent more than \$7 billion on everything from health care to research and development in 1999-2000. But he cut taxes by the relatively modest amount of \$1.5 billion. (That does not include an \$800-million reduction in Employment Insurance premiums.) Next year, he said, Malabar's lines will be cut again. But he won't shift Canada's social credit with major social programs. "Maybe. Nine out of 10 times," he said. "We have to balance priorities. It's fine for these simple-state pressure groups to push for cuts—but you can't be a single-issue government."

So, that approach seems to be working. "There is no tax revolt out there now because we do think government should be there to keep social programs strong," says pollster Donna Donda, senior vice-president at Toronto-based Hollister Research Group Ltd., Canada's oldest public-opinion pollster. "Maybe. Nine out of 10 times that we have increased health-care spending, tax cuts are competing on a more equal basis with other possible priorities." In other words, the finance minister won't need to juggle his spending and his tax cuts for more carefully—next time.

In January 2005, Bob Scott accepted a corporate move from White Rock, B.C., to Calgary—and he remains exasperated with the change to a headwater with a firm that recruits sales personnel, he and his wife, Tracy, and their two youngsters have settled in a moving home in the suburb of Sundridge—"some of the half-baked houses for more than twice the price." Their groceries, gas and car insurance are cheaper. There is no sales tax, income taxes on his commissions—which are now "quite comfortable"—are far lower. "In British Columbia, I always felt that we were being gouged," he says. "Now I feel that the money is being put to good use."

The acceptance of his move marks at least one of the two economic myths of taxation: equity. In other words, a tax system works if all taxpayers feel that they are treated fairly—and if the funds are

Bob and Tracy Scott: Taxpayers must feel that governments are treating them fairly

## Despite the pressure, finance ministers are stalling for time

dispersed evenly. The other is efficiency: funds should be collected in a way that creates the lowest economic costs and disruptions. By those standards, personal income taxes should come down at least for everyone—but especially for high- and middle-income earners. Perhaps Martin could lower tax rates. They are now set at 17 per cent on income up to \$28,590, 26 per cent on income between \$28,591 and \$53,183, and 29 per cent on further income. (Provincial taxes are a percentage of basic federal tax—and both levels of government add surtaxes.)

Then, he could turn to payroll taxes. Canada Pension Plan premiums went up by 30 cents per \$100 of employee income; this year—while EI premiums declined by only 25 cents. That represented a maximum tax increase of \$30.80. "As a minimum, payroll taxes should be stabilized," says Catherine Swift, president of the Canadian Federation of Independent Business.

Finally, many experts argue, he should cut corporate taxes. Canada's maximum rates ranged from 38 to 41 to 46.1 per cent in 1997—depenalizing the industry. That was well above the 35 to 42.5 per cent range in the United States and 31 per cent in the Kingdom of Wales. Canada's rates are higher for dynamic service industries such as communications than for manufacturing. "We have to set about creating a 'Canada Advantage,'" argues economist Martin

Montreal electrical engineer Achour Louati, 35, switched three of his brothers into Quebec charge in the United States last year lured by higher salaries and lower taxes. Louati himself is tempted to follow, despite his wife, who is an extremely low-level firm her nursing job, and his young son. He recently turned down three offers in California—because those salaries were not high enough to cover the cost of private schools and housing. "But if there is a good opportunity, I'll take it for sure," Louati says, noting disingently that almost half of his comfortable salary goes to income taxes alone. "I know I could get more elsewhere—especially with the tax advantages." He pauses. "It's really the money," he says finally. And that is a verdict that should send all finance ministers back to their calculators.

With JOHN DEMOMAY in Halifax, CHRIS PUGH in Vancouver, BRIAN BINGHAM in Calgary and ANTONIA BINGHAM in Montreal

# SETTING HIS AGENDA

Paul Martin says tax cuts are only one of the priorities facing Canada

For Finance Minister Paul Martin, the question is not whether taxes should be cut, but by how much and how quickly. In a widely-circulated interview last March's, he acknowledged that high taxes may indeed be hurting the country, but noted that other priorities, among them health care and education, have crowded his ability to cut too deeply. Excerpt:

**Maclean's:** How do you respond to the increasing tax and cryer income for cuts?

**Martin:** There is no doubt that we would like to reduce personal income taxes as much as we possibly can. The constraint is our resources—we've brought taxes down as much as we possibly can and we're still in the debt. But we're going to do it in threeable chunks, because when you reduce taxes you're dealing with structural change to the government's revenue stream and you've got to be very confident that you're going to have that revenue stream.

**Maclean's:** What do your soundings all just do people accept that approach?

**Martin:** There was no doubt that Canadians wanted to see money go into the health-care system and they would not have wanted tax cuts at the expense of that. So if it really comes down to what you ask them. If you say to them, do you want tax cuts versus money going to education or health care, they'll tell you they want money going to education or health care. If you ask them, do you want to see tax cuts down, if that's the question, then their answer is unequivocally yes. I want to see my taxes down. And if you ask me, do you want to see their taxes down, the answer is absolutely yes. There is no implication, however, in your question that perhaps we could have reduced taxes. That's the other side. I don't know if that's fair.

**Maclean's:** There are a lot of people who feel that way.

**Martin:** I think we should look at the facts. A number of people speaking the most loudly on this were the same people who were telling us that we had to eliminate the deficit—and they sometimes have dropped what they said three years ago. Obviously, cutting taxes to the extent that would be required, so doing that they pay higher salaries down there. The same thing is, let's get taxes down because I think it's part of the puzzle.

**Maclean's:** Is there a level of magic number in your view? What are people looking for as a solution?



The finance minister: constrained by resources

in the provinces, we set the time for interest rates for every private sector company and we set the time for interest rates for individuals. And our interest rates are where they are because the federal government eliminated the deficit. If we had deferred that in order to cut income taxes, then I don't believe our interest rates would be so low as they are.

But now take a look at Alberta. Alberta eliminated its deficit for the year we began to cut, 2004-2005. They waited three years after they had eliminated the deficit before they started cutting taxes. We cut taxes the year we eliminated the deficit. We didn't wait. Essentially, we have cut taxes as much as we possibly could. The issue isn't do we want to cut taxes; the issue is how much we want to cut. We have to maintain.

**Maclean's:** How concerned are you that interest rates are driving many professionals out of the country?

**Martin:** The Bank of Montreal just did a study in which basically they challenged that—there are strong views on both sides of that particular debate. But I suspect that his level obviously has a certain amount to do with it, so does a good number of other factors that they pay higher salaries down there. The same thing is, let's get taxes down because I think it's part of the puzzle.

**Maclean's:** Is there a level of magic number in your view? What are people looking for as a solution?

**Martin:** More than anything, people have seen over the past 10 to 15 years declining

amounts of money in their pocket, and what they're looking for is the knowledge that over the next number of years they're going to see increasing amounts of money in their pocket. What does that have to be? I don't know. I think the most important thing is that it be increasing. I also understand the realities, the famous example that a lot of people use: This wasn't worth much more than a cup of coffee. Well, two cups of coffee a day times 15 million taxpayers over the course of a year is, what, \$1.5 billion? I don't have \$1.5 billion in surplus.

We are clearly going through what some historians 50 or 100 years from now is going to regard as one of the great transition periods. The success that we had with the deficit—there were some very difficult choices made, not just by government but by the Canadian people. This constraint was built across the country, and occurred because, essentially, Canadians really did debate this issue. There is no doubt that that we have to have a debate over taxation. But then we've got to take the debate further, not on the basis of some shrill statements coming out of the Street, but basically on a rational basis as to what is the way in which you build a productive economy. And then we've got to go beyond that. As a country, we're really going to decide fundamentally what it is we're going to do to give us the rising standard of living. And what this means is that we're really going to go beyond just tomorrow's satisfaction.

# NUNAVUT RISING



Fireworks at  
April 1st celebrations  
running high

Last week, residents of Canada's eastern Arctic celebrated the birth of the new territory of Nunavut. Author and broadcaster Peter Gzowski was there, as a master of ceremonies at the official April 1 concert marking the declaration of the new territory. He prepared this report for *Blackburn's*—where he was managing editor from 1962 to 1964 and editor in 1969—on the emotions of last week and the challenges that lie ahead for Nunavut.

BY PETER GZOWSKI

One of the several Inuktitut words for "thank you" is spelled, in roman orthography, "qumunuuq." Last week, getting ready to act as one of the three masters of ceremonies of the concert, I was working hard at pronouncing it. The "cerebral" one young Inuk giggled over supper one night. "If you say the first couple of syllables wrong you may seem to be inviting the audience to do something loved with you after the show."

My own difficulties with Nunavut's subtle and beautiful official language (it joins English and French, but as much as possible the government will work in Inuktitut) were only one of the intense cultural clashes that cropped up as the northerners prepared to celebrate. At one point, one of the southern producers of the show, talking with one of my co-hosts, National Inuit Youth Council president Sandra Iniaq, made the mistake of referring to the *qajaqs* Sandra planned to wear, handmade by her mother for the occasion, as her "costume"—a bit like suggesting some-



Stewart (left), Northern Affairs Minister Jean Stewart and Prime Minister Jean Chretien: election and tears of joy

Thursday—and because it around the world were over come, and the crowd, like all the other festivities around Nunavut Day, went all night long clockwise, then in circle of elation, nocturnal and terms of both address and joy.

Helen Mikuasuk, the diminutive new commissioner of Nunavut, who had wept at her swearing-in the night before as she remembered her husband, one of the pioneers of Inuit self-determination who had died of cancer last year, broke into sobs at the podium and talked about not quite being able to reach the microphone. The soft, dignified voice of Paul Orlowski, the 65-year-old government leader—the only premier in Canada who is still paying off his student loan, he had studied dentistry in the work—shook with emotion as he spoke of his "overwhelming pride." Susan Aquluk, the North's best-known performing artist, whose grandfather had died on Tuesday and whose 47-year-old uncle had just

## History was made in the eastern Arctic with the birth of Canada's newest territory

body's hockey jacket had been made up for Halloween. My other partner, the brilliant young singer and composer Leslie Adams, was bothered by the way the children's choir was being ordered around—"like boot camp," she said. Neither Sandra nor Leslie was comfortable with the way the original script appeared to single out certain performers over others, a concept Inuit culture doesn't accept. There's no Inuktitut word for "assemble," either, which made it tricky to introduce some of the dignitaries.

In the end, though, all the considerations, along with the hundreds of logistical problems involved in staging a television show in an empty airplane hangar just south of the Arctic Circle—the windchill was -61° C on

been rescued from a harrowing trip on the *Kivunivut* tundra—a dramatic reminder, if one of the accolades of the uninhabited power of the land and the elements that surrounded us—was, as always, in an Arctic landscape.

What a long journey it had been. More than 20 years of patient, dogged negotiations, bargaining sessions and phonecalls—not so hard for barbers who could stand motivations for hours over a seal hole, as Nunavut Implementation Commission head John Amegavik, who is universally referred to as John A., the father of Nunavut, reminded me last week. Yet leaving as last from a people of the land—even Sandra Iniaq, who would turn 25 on Sunday, had spent her childhood in a hunting and fishing camp on the remote Baffin coast—into the complex world of technology, resource development and sophisticated modern government.

The challenges for the new government were huge: unemployment, lack of housing, epidemic substance abuse and suicide—as well as the latest-rising barbarism on the coast. Training a representative, civil service in the next few years in itself is monumental task. But last Thursday was a historic step, the acknowledgment, at least of a people's right to hold dominion over its own land, yet still within the framework of Canada. The new government may make mistakes. But at least they will be mistakes arising from their own ways and their own culture, and not those of colonialists. From as bombs fell in Germany, Europe, the people of the Canadian North gave the world a model of how to achieve the right of self-determination—a public government of all the people—without violence, without riotous, and with a display of democracy in its best. Qumunuuq, Nunavut. It was as honour to be there. □



Celebrating on the streets at long last, a new beginning

# Seizing the day

BY BRIAN BEIRGMAN

He may not yet be ready for prime time, but when Alberta Treasurer Stockwell Day delivers a speech, there is more than a touch of the steel-up-conscience on display. Day, who almost never works from notes or prepared text, can be astonishingly articulate on the public stage, rattling off minutes and speeches with the total recall of a committed policy wonk. But it is humour that he uses as his hook. And so it was last week at Red Deer stood before an audience of Rotarians in his home riding of Red Deer and credited ordinary Albertans with guiding their government into getting its fiscal house in order. "You said, 'Get rid of that deficit or we'll get rid of you,'" he said. "We pondered that for about four or five seconds and said, 'We better do something about that deficit.'" At another point, Day stopped in and rhetorical flight to mag for a Rotarian who was pointing a camera at him. When the laughter and applause subsided, Day resumed up his public persona with a self-deprecating quip: "We never met a man like he doesn't lie."

There is little doubt that Day, 48, enjoys the limelight. And these days, he is getting plenty of chances to bask in it. With last month's preannouncing provincial budget—replete with tax breaks for sports-horse spouses and the promise of Canada's first "fat tax" on personal income—Day helped cement his status as a darling of both fiscal and social conservatives across the country even before the budget. Alberta's Ottawa-born, Montreal-raised and possibly billionairess being married as a strong contender to lead the United Alternative—a coalition of right to life, Reformers and Conservatives under one banner—fidelity, and a movement that Day has taken a keen interest in nurturing. Failing that, Day, who also serves as Alberta's deputy premier, is widely seen as the likely successor when Premier Ralph Klein ends his populist reign. "I just think Stockwell is a terrifically accomplished politician," says Don Truog, Truog's former boss, Roy Chouinard, who served with Day on the steering committee behind the United Alternative's inaugural conference in Ottawa in February. "He's got a very bright future—whether in Alberta or beyond."

Whatever his leadership ambitions—and, for the time being, Day insists he has none—the television treasurer appears destined to stay in the national spotlight for the foreseeable future. In Alberta, Day is a controversial figure, a former Pentecostal pastor who is at least as well known for his pitched battles against gay rights and abortion as he is for riding hard over the province's finances. "Day is a moral conservative who takes strong, even polarized stances," notes University of Calgary political scientist David Tarrin. "As the focus intensifies, people will start to ask questions. Who is the man? What does he believe in? I don't at all see that they will find that he connects with opinion in Main Street Canada."

Stockwell Day was born in Barrie, Ont., in 1958, the second eldest of six children. His father was a vice-president with the

Zellers retail chain and the family moved often as the company opened new stores in other cities and provinces. Day spent parts of his childhood in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ottawa, Quebec City and Montreal. He attended high school in Montreal, where he was an avid soccer player and where, according to stories he has told his own children, he could sometimes be found with his buddies outside the Montreal Forum watching hockey tickets. It was in Quebec that he learned to speak French. He kept the language up, though not as much as he would have liked. "It would be nice to be fully immersed for a period of time," Day said during a wide-ranging interview last week at his Red Deer constituency office. "As it is, I can go into restaurants and most business meetings and feel them for the first few minutes."

Day's family moved to Victoria in 1968, when he was 10. He attended the University of Victoria, studying English and creative writing. But he was, by his own admission, "not an attentive student" and left before earning a degree. He did, however, earn a reputation for slightly offbeat behaviour. Day recalls that, while living in a cottage in Victoria, he bought a 1966 Ford Mustang for \$85 "because the radio worked."

After safety inspections deemed the vehicle unroadworthy, he bought three hens and began to raise them in the backseat of the car. Each day, the chicken rewarded him with a couple of eggs and he, in turn, would take the birds for a walk, using lengths of string as a leash. Eventually, the neighbours complained and a police officer informed him that residential Victoria was not zoned for poultry. "I tried to suggest there were my pigs," says Day, "but he didn't buy that either. So that night, there was a nice roast chicken dinner."

After leaving university, Day worked as a deckhand on a commercial fishing boat. About the same time, he met his future wife, Valerie. The couple married in October 1977, and moved to Kelowna the following year to start up an advertising business. Unhappily, after one successful year, the business burned to the ground. And because of what Day describes as "classic case of fire proof on the insurance form," he was on the hook for a sizable business loan. To help pay off his debts, Day worked at a variety of jobs over the next few years, among them lumberjack in the B.C. Interior, oilfield worker in Inuvik, N.W.T., and salesman and installer of drapery tracking equipment in Edmonton. This climb to the latter vocation included the Alberta government. "I just got my first glimpse of government while standing on the decks of deputy ministers, removing ceiling tiles," he says.

While in Edmonton, Day also worked for a year at an agency that dealt with troubled street youth. In the late 1970s, he accepted a job as a youth minister at the Bentley Christian Centre, a Pentecostal church near Red Deer, where he also attended a private Christian school. His career marked the culmination of a spiritual journey that began several years earlier. Inspired by Anglicans, Day says his faith "flourished and then exploded" during the two years. But he began to reassess his religious views after getting married and starting a family (the Days have three children, Logan,



Day, a devout conservative, knows his expertise in abortion and gay rights.

26, Luke, 24, and Benjamin, 18). When he returned attending church, it was as a Pentecostal. As part of his faith, Day accepts the Bible as the literal, infallible word of God.

Reg. Darroch, a former pastor of the Bentley Christian Centre, recalls Day as a bright, impetuous speaker who was especially popular among young people because of his sense of humor and fun. "Stock is a man who lives by his principles, but not in a rigid, inflexible way," says Darroch, now a pastor in nearby Banff, Alta. "He was able to impart beliefs the value in having a faith in Jesus Christ."

Day soon became active in an association that lobbied the provincial government on behalf of private Christian schools. This helped what has appeared for politics, leading to a successful run in 1986 as a Conservative in the riding of Red Deer North. After an initial term as a provincial backbencher, Day quickly rose through the ranks to serve as a youth, house leader, minister of labor, social services minister and, since March, 1997, provincial treasurer.

Along the way, Day often became mired in controversy. Although he is a provincial Conservative, he was an early and outspoken sup-

porter of the federal Reform party. Among other things, he has advocated work camps for dealing with some young offenders, lent support to a fellow MLAs unsuccessful bid to have John Steinbeck's novel *Of Mice and Men* banned from Alberta schools because of alleged profanity, and described Ottawa's recent gun registration law as "lunacy." In October 1997, the rookie treasurer sparked a national uproar when he suggested convicted child killer Clifford Olson be released into the general prison population so that "normal prisoners will deal with it in a way which we don't have the nerve to do." Day later claimed he was not advocating vigilante justice, merely criticizing the "special treatment" Olson enjoyed by having a private cell. All the same, he noted that the hundreds of calls floodgates often were "saying thank you for saying what 99 per cent of us say around our dinner tables and our barbecues."

But above all, two issues—abortion and gay rights—have marked Day as one of Alberta's most prominent social conservatives. Day, who personally considers abortion immoral, supported a resolution that an abortion group presented to the Alberta Conservative

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## CANADA

party's annual convention in 1995. It called on the government to stop paying for abortions under the provincial health plan. After Klein spoke out against it, the motion was defeated. Last April, Day was back in the dog house: the Supreme Court of Canada decided, over the province's objections, that gaps and loopholes must be protected under Alberta's human rights law. Day argued strongly in favour of upholding the ruling by seeking the federal Charter's notwithstanding clause. Though he captured support from an estimated one-third of the voters, Day lost again after Klein declared that the court must be heeded. Day has since helped fashion a government policy that is attempting to end "innocent" acquiescence of certain familial rights to homosexual—exactly the right to marry.

While they have sometimes clashed over social policy, Day has clearly earned Klein's respect and trust in his role as provincial treasurer. Building on the deficit-slaying legacy of his predecessor, Ron Dismore, Day asked, on March 11, what political scientist Tom Doherty saw as "the Star Wars badge"—boldly going where no treasurer has gone before. "In addition to decoupling provincial and federal tax rates, Day moved that, by 2000, the province would impose a flat rate of 13 per cent on personal income—a move he said would reduce the overall tax take by \$800 million. At the same time, he promised to boost provincial spending on education and health care by an impressive \$1.5 billion over the next three years.

Day contends that his critics overstate much as how his personal religious views affect his stance on certain social policy issues—and his take on his achievements in other areas. He also argues that his critics ignore solid statistics that speak out on sensible moral issues in that "you have to get marginalized about everything else that you do." Adds Day: "If you are going to have three views and still be seen as a normal, intelligent person, you have to work extra hard. In some ways, you are always under the magnifying glass."

Day knows that if he pursues a leadership position, the intensity will intensify—and that some will throw him as an irrelevant. Admirers, like Ontario cabinet

minister Clement, believe he is up to the challenge. "There's nothing wrong with having strong moral convictions," says Clement, "but you have to separate out your moral choices from what should be public policy. I have confidence that he's going to draw the line in the right spot."

Back in Alberta, though, that confidence is not always shared by those who have crossed swords with Day. Murray Billett, a member of the gay rights group Equal Alberta, says his personal dealings with Day are cordial. "He's not a bad guy," says Billett. "He's always given us respect and listened to us." But that does not blunt Billett's view that Day is a dangerous man. "He imposes his religious views on this province and on his day-to-day legislative responses." For Billett, who is himself a single gay father, the most offensive aspect is Day's rhetoric about defunding the traditional family unit.

"Sure, everyone's blue-sky family has someone died and a sickle fence," he says. "But in reality, that's just not the case." Day's critics, however, do not let him off. Billett concedes that Day possesses many of the ingredients for political success. "He's got savvy," says Billett. "He's bright, articulate man. He's also good looking, which is a big thing in politics." Day certainly has the stamina that political leadership

so often demands. Colleagues, political aides and family members all tell stories of trying—via—no keep up with him as he presses through days that typically begin as early as 5 a.m. and end around midnight, in whatever spare time he has, Day likes to pursue high-energy sports, including in-line skating, snowboarding and skiing.

But the questions remain: is he driven to lead? Day insists the answer is no. Of a potential run at the United Alternative leadership, Day says, "I have my ideas of all in that direction." When asked if that means he is ruling it out, Day's response allows him the usual politician's wiggle room. "I've not ruled it out, so I don't know how I could rule it out." On the prospect of succeeding Klein, he says, "I also have no designs on that particular job." The design may be sincere enough. But for the time being, at least in Stouffville, Day appears to be a politician blessed with options—and opportunities. □

## The former pastor is now a savvy politician



With Klein, wearing in-line skates before leading the budget, a possible successor



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## A flat-tax prophet

By any measure, Stockwell Day is hot. Here is how the Alberta premier's day unfolds during a recent visit to Toronto. He begins with an early-morning television interview, has breakfast at the C. D. Howe Institute, meets with editorial boards of two national newspapers, delivers a keynote at an Albany Club luncheon, consults with Bay Street investors at the National Club in the afternoon and attends a private dinner hosted by a former Ontario finance minister and Bay Street lover, Hal Jackman, at his home. Despite the relentless pace, at day's end his white shirt remains as crisp as his mood. "I try to take all this sudden attention in stride," says Day. "Right now, the buzz helps to sell Alberta."

Most of that buzz centres on the tax revolution initiated in last month's provincial budget. By 2003, Alberta will have a flat tax rate of 31 per cent, calculated on personal income rather than a percentage of federal tax paid. "Governments have shied away from flat taxes because they're afraid to be perceived as champions of the rich," says Day. "The way we see it, it keeps them from running to the U.S.—and taking their businesses with them."

Tax reform is part of a strategy that aims to reduce Alberta's reliance on the cyclical fortunes of the energy sector. After decades of boom and bust, Ralph Klein's Progressive Conservative government is working to broaden the economic base—without subsidies and grants.

So far, the strategy is working. In 2000, according to Day, 60 per cent of the government's tax revenue from business came directly from energy firms. By 1998, when corporate tax revenue had overtaken the quadrupled, the energy firms contributed 21 per cent. He adds that the recent collapse of crude oil prices has put this diversification plan to its first test. The result? Weak energy prices have hurt the province, "but we're not on our knees this time around."

One reason why Day's tax crusade has generated so much attention is financial circles in the relative disappointment in measures contained in February's federal budget. Optimists about him that agreed

that tax cuts were about to be delivered, many Canadians kicked down by the modest reductions tabled.

Another prong of Alberta's strategy is to pass back such corporate costs as workers' compensation premiums. That is among the factors luring companies to the province, especially from British Columbia. There are now 40 national corporate head offices in Calgary. Investment industry sources tip Calgary as the home of the small capitalization stock market to be formed by the recent merger of the Vancouver and Alberta exchanges. One Bay Street enthusiast is Mike Horrocks, head of consulting for CIBC world markets. "It's nice to know there's a place where it's still OK to be a Canadian—and a capitalist."

The flip side to Alberta's optimism is the boom in its population and corresponding pressure on housing and schools. Last year, Alberta's population grew by 55,000. To serve that million, Day is increasing health-care spending by 21 per cent over the next three years. Spending on education will increase by about 10 per cent over the same period. Day admits: "It has been very tough to open the wallet again."

Perhaps one reason why Alberta's treasurer is leery about spending is the province's balanced budget line. "Even if it's not my fault, I probably couldn't step in as political officer if we run a deficit," he states. Still, Day insists any about his political ambitions. Although touted as a possible leader of the fledgling United Alternative party or its party—Alberta's Tories—Day plays a close hand. "For me, what I'm doing now for the sake of it," he says. "I'm very focused on this task."

On March 11, Day and Alberta Premier Ralph Klein decided to break with tradition by having the treasurer count into the legislature on a pair of 10-ten shares, giving Klein a high-five as he delivered the budget to the premier. At the last minute, Day had to borrow his son's blades—unsure that the blades were defective. When the time came to hand over the document to Klein, he had two choices—dash off the premier or scotch into a suitable pillar. This time, he chose the pillar.

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# Trouble on the ranch

Supporters rally to keep a foster home for teens open

BY CHRIS WOOD

Most days, Monica Neves can be found behind the chair of her tiny white station heavily laden just down the hill from South Okanagan Secondary School and overlooking the rest of the town of Oliver, B.C., population 8,000. Cheerful and chatty, she dispenses the latest data with a strong dose of personal opinion. Neves is married, and her sister is her stepmother to lobby certain customers on the issue that has become her life's uncertain future: a place called the Victoria Creek Youth Ranch. For a decade, the foster facility outside the town has accepted some of the area's most troubled teenage boys and, with a mix of hard work, tough love and jolt-training, turned many of their lives around. In February, the B.C. ministry for children and families ordered it closed. Neves is incredulous. "I was totally shocked that they would even think of closing it down," she says. "I talk to everybody who comes in, trying to get them to write letters."

Her cause is one many in Oliver have taken up. Among those who have spoken out to praise the work of the 84-hectare facility are school counsellors from South Okanagan Secondary, the head of the local RCMP and real estate agent Karen Lewis, who has lived just down the road for some years. Later every local, Lewis is astounded at the ministry's reasons for closing the facility: allegations that its operators, Cam and Lloyd Roling, and their young charges at risk by drinking and smoking. "That is such a crock," says Lewis. "My three boys have been brought up with the boys from the ranch. There is no safer place for my kids to be."

It was the Rolings' past that has been the significance that goes beyond the discoloured postcard and neat orchard rows of the South Okanagan. Other foster parents talk of an atmosphere of relaxation and fun accompanying the B.C. ministry's relations with its more than 4,000 foster homes. The ministry has a history of controversy. In 1996, it was reorganized and renamed, the evidence emerging from an investigation of sex child deaths showed that 260 children under the ministry's auspices had died in the previous decade. The following year, a foster parent in Victoria was found to have severely injured a baby girl entrusted to her care.

Since then, the number of children sent by ministry staff has soared—upping by 50 per cent between 1995 and 1996. And, critics say, the ministry's emphasis has swung to far towards maintaining every possible bed for youth in its care that many foster parents now feel they have become victims. "Fear is a very common thing," says Liz Carter, a veteran foster parent in Prince George and an advocate. Colleagues who have come under ministerial scrutiny feel their lives "are in a full-on fear" for anybody and everybody to pass judgment on," Carter says. "The perception that they are going to go down in flames is common around the province."

The Victoria Creek Ranch, under an unlikely battle-ground. Located on a winding side road about 30 minutes

from Oliver, it is an unassuming place that looks like what it is: a working ranch. The driveway passes between a woodlot and paddocks on the way to a yard filled with stables, work sheds and farm equipment. In the corral, Belgian draft horses stamp large shaggy hooves into the mud, dogs thrust inquisitive muzzles into a visitor's hand. In the kitchen, Cam Roling serves coffee in bag-nachos mugs and talks about the couple's grove. "We take the given-up-on kids," she says. "We've had them where the social workers are so scared they were going to pick them up." At their home, the Rolings say, the boys receive love, clear and consistent house rules, and a grounding in good work habits—both on the ranch and in more than three dozen local businesses that have agreed to accept them on the facility.

By all accounts, the approach has worked well with many of the roughly 80 youths who have passed through the ranch, five at a time, in its 13 years of providing foster care. Victoria Creek, says David Frost, 21, who spent five years there and now lives in Kelowna, "saved me from a lifetime life of crime, drugs and alcohol. The ranch showed me morals and taught me to like and respect my self as a person." Locals have witnessed similar transformations in dozens of other boys. "The ones we've seen come out, we've seen advance," asserts Sgt. Anne Clarke, commander of the Oliver RCMP detachment, who considers the Rolings "very trustworthy and competent."

As recently as last August, the ministry asked to review its malikated assessments of care given to six troubled teenagers, social workers described the ranch's performance as "excellent" 45 times and "above average" 43 times, in seven places it was rated as merely "average," the lowest score it received on the assessments. Nonetheless, on Feb. 8, ministry social worker Cheryl Bontchamp



Lloyd Roling, seen below, providing a home and values for troubled teenage boys

wrote to the Rolings to inform them that as investigators had looked into allegations they had used physical discipline on foster children and verbally and emotionally abused youth in their care. Her letter demanded the change of physical discipline. "That has been substantiated," and that "there has been consistent criticism around the reliability of the individual making these allegations." But, noting a string of previous allegations and "several confirmed reports regarding school truancy in your home between 1989 and 1996," Bontchamp told the Rolings their ranch had led to approval to operate.

The Rolings and their many local supporters strongly reject the ministry's charges. "We work with high-risk kids that we expect will make allegations," Cam Roling says. "This is a form of power for them." The couple do admit to occasional tensions in their marriage, and that Lloyd Roling did occasionally drink to excess in the past—although never on ranch property. That he must have been sober, aside from two brief dips, since joining Alcoholics Anonymous in 1983.

Among dozens of local people who have come to the defence of the ranch are three of the four youths who remain there until the ministry finds another place for them. "It's hellish," says a 17-year-old resident interviewed off ranch property and without the Rolings' knowledge. "I've never seen them get physical, but then I've never seen them get mad either. I don't understand why they want to sit at someplace down when the kids living here are telling them it's the best place ever."

Interviews with more than a dozen current and former foster parents in the same area produced strikingly consistent accounts of excessive and heavy-handed tactics on the part of ministry off-

icers in the South Okanagan area. "The majority of our telephone calls with foster parents are very good," says Roling.

Perhaps the Rolings' biggest foe is the Campbell River on Vancouver Island, says she has heard similar complaints against the ministry. Dahl heads the B.C. Federation of Foster Parents Association, which represents approximately 2,500 parents across the province. Choosing her words with diplomatic care, she laments some of the home as ministry policies "developed by people who are, and have for some time been, removed from the reality of child care, and some on inexperienced and over-the-hill social workers who don't have a clue about kids and don't know that some kids and any whatever they think they need to say to get what they want." But Dahl also considers some of the ministry's insistence on high standards of foster parenting to be reasonable. "We are dealing with children who have been abused and neglected; our homes have to be at a higher level, or why not leave them where they are."

Dahl and Dawson both hope a new chapter will open in relations between foster parents and the ministry later this month. That is when a new petition comes into force, one that both sides have agreed on to govern how the homes can be investigated. After one carefully winning a three-month extension of their facility's approval, Cam and Lloyd Roling may learn their ultimate fate this week, when Dawson says he expects to release the results of a review of the allegations lodged against them. In her last talks, Monica Neves shares her love and wisdom with the Rolings, may no longer be able to find a new life at the ranch. "These kids are going to end up on the streets doing break-and-enters," she sighs. "It's stupid." □



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## Canada NOTES

### STEPPING DOWN

Officials at Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's 25th anniversary party confirmed that Canada's 25th governor general, Roméo LeBlanc, has asked Prime Minister Jean Chrétien to replace him by the new year—before the end of his five-year term. LeBlanc, who will be 72 in December and served as both Lester Pearson's and Pierre Trudeau's press secretary, is said to be having health problems and feeling the demands of his job.

### A JUSTICE CLEARED

The Canadian Judicial Council said Supreme Court Justice Claire L'Heureux-Dubé was not guilty of misconduct when she criticized Appeal Court of Alberta Justice John McClung. L'Heureux-Dubé had accused McClung of obstruction when, in February, the high court overturned one of his decisions in a sexual assault case, prompting a complaint to the council by RCMP. Women of Canada said that she had indulged in "denigrating invective."

### SPENDING LIMITS

The National Citizens' Coalition and the Canadian Newspaper Association said they will challenge measures in the new federal Elections Act that the Liberal government intends to introduce this month. The new legislation will restrict publication of opinion polls during election campaigns and limit to \$5,000 per riding and \$200,000 nationally the amount of advertising money lobby groups can spend during campaigns.

### CONSTRUCTION WARS

Ontario threw down the gauntlet in its long-standing row with Quebec over the difficulties faced by Ontarians trying to work in Quebec's heavily regulated construction sector. In a retaliatory move, Ontario Premier Mike Harris banned Quebec construction firms from bidding on Ontario government jobs. In the past 12 months, such deals earned Quebec contractors \$96 million.

### FORGING AHEAD

Atomic Energy of Canada said it will push ahead with a plan to test-drive weapons-grade plutonium from the United States and Russia, in spite of protests from anti-nuclear activists. The plutonium originates from dismantled nuclear weapons, and spokesmen said Canada should help in the cause of global disarmament.



MacPhail increasing the deficit, and backing the red

## A province in the red

BC Finance Minister Jay MacPhail ignored the national trend of balanced budgets by tabling a 1999-2000 budget that would increase the beleaguered province's deficit to \$800 million from \$544 million. That forecast came complete with more than \$2.2 billion in new spending, much of which will go towards health and education. And it brought a howl of outrage from both the province's Liberal opposition and

businesses—down to 5.5 per cent from 8.5 per cent, to rival the low rate in neighbouring Alberta—do not offer the lack of a coherent fiscal plan to avert oil recession. But MacPhail was unrepentant. "Some are committed to slashing taxes for big corporations and the wealthy, and others are trying to make up for lost revenue," the finance minister declared. "We have different values."

### POLITICS

## Rigging the vote

In a 60-page report, former Manitoba chief justice Alfred Manning said the province's vote-rigging scandal amounted to "an unconscionable disavowal of the citizen's right to vote." The former chief justice, who headed a four-month inquiry into the controversy at an annual conference of provincial Tories for a scheme that saw the party divert funds to the campaign of three independent Conservative candidates, said the 1995 election in hopes of splitting the NDP vote. And he declared that if all 100,000 voters on the ballot had been counted, the NDP would have won the election.

Manning also said that because of the time limit for prosecutors under the province's election laws was six months, nothing could be done legally about the scheme. But Premier Gary Filmon, who was personally implicated by the scandal, promised to revive the question of criminal liability.

## Showtime at the CBC

After round-the-clock negotiations, the CBC reached an agreement with 1,600 members of the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union, ending a six-week strike. According to the terms of the agreement, pay increases to union members, among them camera operators, sound operators and lighting personnel, will total as much as 13 per cent over three years. Management also pledged to maintain its commitment to regional broadcasting and to protect jobs for outside workers that can be lost when the industry's leaders questioned what the long-term effects of the strike will mean to the beleaguered public broadcaster.

During the course of the dispute, the CBC's overall ratings suffered, with television viewership falling from about eight per cent to six per cent as the strike continued, problems in programming. As well, many popular, revenue-generating shows, such as *Royal Canadian Air Force*, *Top Gun* and *22 Minutes and Yours*, were forced into reruns, with some not expected to return to production new episodes until late fall season. "Whatever contributions they had in the areas that were growing was completely negated, and all the gains they made in the last fall month, say, Jay Sebring, vice-president of programming at Chase Television Networks. "I just think that the situation looks..."





Amid a refugee deluge, NATO rethinks its war for Kosovo

## HUMAN OUTRAGE



Interior ministry building burns in Belgrade; fleeing Kosovars huddle in a makeshift tent in Hohen, Albania. (left) The nature of the conflict turned out to be worse than anyone expected

BY ANDREW PHILLIPS

**S**crosses from the heart of Europe in the last year of the 20th century. The knock on the door. The order to get out—or else. The trains packed with families, from new births to grandmothers, rambling through the mountains and woods. The slow final trek to the border. The people, arms of darkness, of them clanking boots and babies, stranded on hillside in the first days of a bleak Balkan spring.

The warplanes streaking into the sky. The ground forces prowling to punish the evildoers. Buildings aflame in the center of a capital city, and a people shooting at defiance. Soldiers firing and soldiers paraded before the TV cameras by their captives.

The military planners who unleashed NATO's assault against the Yugoslavs of President Slobodan Milosevic knew they knew it would be difficult, costly and bloody. They just didn't know how bad it would be. By last week, the answer had become horrifyingly clear: worse than anyone had expected. While NATO warplanes, hampered by the rain and fog that hung over the region for days, struck at the Yugoslav military, Milosevic's army and Serbian paramilitary units made Kosovo worse than a war zone. Far from receding before the Western onslaught, they dramatically stepped up their campaign against the province's Albanian majority. The result could be seen at Kosovo's borders with Albania, Macedonia and the Yugoslav republic of Montenegro: tens of thousands of Albanian Kosovars fleeing their homes in the face of Serb threats and violence. On Good Friday, 35,000 huddled in the rain on a field where Macedonians and Kosovars were—many to the contrary's redrawing course of hatred between peoples.

The human flood grew larger all week—creating the worst refugee crisis in Europe since millions of displaced people wandered the continents after the Second World War. As they geared up for a massive relief effort—including an initial \$10 million commitment by Canada—aid officials counted more than 300,000 Kosovans surging across the borders in the 10 days following the start of bombing on March 24. By the world's end, NATO officials estimated that 725,000 Kosovans, more than 90 per cent of their total population of 1.8 million, had been forced from their homes in the past year—and that all could be gone in another 10 to 20 days. Milosevic, they alleged, had decided to use the conflict as cover for his own bad solution to his intractable Kosovo problem—to empty the province of its Albanian population and "ethnically re-engineer the inside of Kosovo," in the words of NATO spokesman James Shea.

The result was a disaster for the Kosovans—and for NATO itself. On the one side, an campaign, President Bill Clinton declared that "our objective in Kosovo remains clear: to stop the killing and achieve a durable peace." But with more killing than ever under way and peace an increasingly remote possibility, the pressure soon on for Clinton and other NATO leaders to take the one measure they have consistently ruled out—sending troops on the ground in Kosovo to stop the Serb offensive.

After 15 days, the Western campaign had produced a litany of catastrophe. The most wounding charge was that the very air strikes designed to save the Kosovans instead provided the means for their destruction. Western allies cracked to that, arguing with mounting anger. Milosevic, they argued, had what Shea calls "master

plan" to expel the Albanians. Why, they asked, would he have spared his forces in aid around Kosovo—40,000 troops and 500 tanks—as soon as it became clear in February that peace talks at Rambouillet, France, were foundering? In Washington and at NATO headquarters in Brussels, military planners let it be known that they had worried their political masters about the risks. Pentagon officials, in particular, claimed they had told the Clinton administration that air attacks might prompt the Serbs to strike out against the Albanians—though those claimed to have foreseen how quickly and ruthlessly they would act.

Still, it was undeniable that NATO's bombs were the trigger that set off the biggest ethnic-cleansing operation since Yugoslavia began its downward collapse eight years ago. At the same time, the air campaign threatened to destabilize the fragile democracies that border Kosovo, and confront the West with a terrible dilemma: abandon the Kosovo Albanians to their fate or be drawn deeper into a Balkan quagmire. Milosevic's regime even placed a propaganda coup when Serbs captured three U.S. soldiers along the Macedonian border and displayed them on television.

Most troubling for the Western alliance were signs of divisions in NATO's ranks and shifting goals as the air campaign failed to produce the promised results. Though the 19 NATO members considered publicly united as the need for continued bombing, they disagreed as how to wage the campaign. Washington pushed for harder blows against the Serbs, while smaller members worried that civilian casualties might produce an adverse backlash. By week's end, the evidence that the Americans had won out was clear, as NATO's war planes took the attack for the first time.

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Destroyed bridge over the Danube in Novi Sad: The full impact was yet to come.



The shift in Kosovo, it became clear, was also for humanitarian—or at least good reasons. It was being waged house to house, with pistols, rifles and knives. To that, the cruise missiles and smart bombs launched by warplanes from the United States, Canada and 11 other NATO countries added no more. All they could do was, in the NATO command's phrase, to gradually "degrade" Milosevic's forces by targeting army depots, ammunition supplies, fuel dumps, barracks and the like.

That, however, could take weeks while the Kosovars' fight inside their home provinces seemed to be intensifying. It was NATO, observed Canadian Brig-Gen Dave Jurkiewicz, was in a "race against time" to stop the Serbs before they completed their task. NATO added more forces—bringing additional fighters and an aerial command battle group from the United States, as well as additional CF-18 Hornets from Canada to their base in Aviano, Italy, doubling the Canadian contingent. And it moved its military officers and strike targets to the west, to the Danube, to Yugoslavia's second-largest city, Novi Sad. The alliance also said it would send a 6,000 to 8,000 member force, mainly of British and Indian soldiers, to Albania—



## TARGET: BELGRADE

NATO warplanes launched their attack on Yugoslavia as tens of thousands of refugees poured out of Kosovo. The alliance said it was targeting Serbian troops and tanks directly involved in assaults on ethnic Albanians in the southern province, and began attacking targets in central Belgrade, Yugoslavia's capital. But there was also the fact that the leaders of Yugoslavia President Slobodan Milosevic had been brought to trial. Milosevic was accused of a propaganda victory when his bosses explained three American soldiers on the border with Macedonia. The Russians also stopped a Serbian ship from sailing to the sea, with its arms ready to go.

NATO, meanwhile, deployed more ships and planes, including an additional six CF-18 fighters from Canada sent to Aviano airport in Italy. The United States said it was in support of the alliance's attack on Yugoslavia, which includes an anti-air campaign. For much of the week, the air campaign was hampered by dense cloud cover that forced NATO jets to return to their bases in Italy with weapons intact. But conditions were clear, including two interior ministry buildings set on fire in downtown Belgrade, two bridges in northern Novi Sad and an oil refinery plant in the city of Cacak.

solely, it said, to help and the masses of refugees.

But despite the increasingly tough rhetoric from NATO capitals, the campaign was far from all-out war. Bad weather hampered the air strikes, which seemed accurately target their best-equipped weapons through heavy clouds. More importantly, NATO's political leaders insisted that their forces fight a measured campaign—gentlefire's rules in a region better known for vicious land fights. They did not want to risk so-called collateral damage (the military's euphemism for dead civilians) or to put their own pilots at risk by having them fly low to attack Serbian troops before Milosevic's air defenses were crippled. Defense Minister Sir Geoffrey Edegarman implicitly acknowledged the constraint by telling NATO's late last week that Canada's pilots are trying hard not to injure civilians. "Unless they can be sure of the target, they don't lock on to it and they don't fire," said Edegarman, "simply because if they do not hit the target or if they



## THE 'WIZZO' WAR

NATO's airborne attempt to stop Serbian assaults in Kosovo is a high-tech campaign that relies almost totally on cruise missiles and laser- and satellite-guided bombs. The bomber of yore has been replaced by the "wizzo," who, like a kid with a Nintendo joystick, can use a hand controller and video screen to guide a weapon to its target. Even the venerable B-52 bomber has been turned into a space-age launch pad, capable of firing eight cruise missiles, each carrying a 3,000-lb warhead that can destroy a high-rise building in one whiff. As the missile drops, its turbofan engines kick in and it is guided by satellite directly to its target.

Many NATO fighter-bombers are equipped with smaller cruise missiles. As these cruise-carrying missiles approach the ground, the wizzo keeps it on track as he watches the target grow progressively larger on his cockpit video. Most of the jets also carry laser-guided bombs. The pilot illuminates a target with a laser and the wizzo follows it down to its target. More powerful, the U.S. Air Force's B-2 stealth bomber drops satellite-guided bombs, including 5,000-lb. bunker busters. The allied assault also comes from the ocean, where U.S. Navy and allied ships launch Tomahawk cruise missiles carrying 1,000-lb. warheads.

To step up pressure on Serbian ground forces, NATO last week deployed five B-1B supersonic precision bombers, which could be used against tank formations. In that effort, NATO will also rely heavily on the A-10 Thunderbolt II, a tank-buster known as the "Warthog." Its pilot is protected from ground fire in a titanium shell as its armor-piercing 30-mm gun fires up to 3,900 rounds in a minute.



but the wrong target it could result in a list of civilian casualties." As a result of bad weather, about half of the CF-18s returned to base without releasing their weapons.

Serbs forces, it became clear, were under no such limitations. NATO officials were reluctant to use the word "genocide" at first—mainly because of the implications it carries under international law. But they freely described what was happening inside Kosovo, an unimpeachable report of human rights abuses since the war of 1991. As a result of the implications it carries under international law, NATO officials were reluctant to use the word "genocide" at first—mainly because of the implications it carries under international law. But they freely described what was happening inside Kosovo, an unimpeachable report of human rights abuses since the war of 1991. As a result of the implications it carries under international law, NATO officials were reluctant to use the word "genocide" at first—mainly because of the implications it carries under international law.

the province that would leave Yugoslavia holding a Serb-only enclave after the wartime upheavals.

That is an outcome the West rejects. Instead, the new goal emerging in the central realm of the Kosovans is their future. At week's end, Clinton spelled out Washington's view in providing "the return of the Kosovans in conditions of security" and making sure they achieve the kind of political autonomy that Kosovo had as the Yugoslav federation before Milosevic abolished it in 1989. Clinton stopped well short of endorsing eventual independence for Kosovo, which would set troublesome precedents for other would-be breakaway minorities, such as Kurds in Turkey. But simply making it possible for the Kosovans to go home would surely mean some kind of Western ground force to ensure their safety. The big question left hanging is would such a force go to only after Belgrade is bombed into accepting a political settlement, or would it have to fight its way into Kosovo?

As the failure of air strikes to stop the ethnic cleansing became

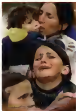


# 'THERE WERE BODIES EVERYWHERE'

Tales of terror emerge as refugees overwhelm Albania

Albania's only major road running from its northern border with Kosovo to the capital, Tirana, is a crumbling, piled two-lane track that winds around steeply mountainous and through small towns/hay with brick dust. Rusted, combusted car frames—Albania's road kill—line the route. Scrawny cows and donkeys graze to the poverty of the countryside. A Peen's Cardin billboard just outside Tirana promises to bring "French fashion to Albania," but this most backward of east European countries has far to travel before catching the rest of Europe. The road to the border remains blighted with reminders of Albania's Cold War past: hundreds of permanent concrete bunkers, built to defend the country against a NATO invasion, sprouting like tiny mushroomed pods on the barren hills.

Yet on the very week that NATO was actually waging a war against a Balkan country, this ruble Albanian highway became a sanctuary. For tens of thousands of Kosovar Albanians peering over the border, the road to Tirana was one of the last links leading away from the joys of hatred and death behind them. The men, women and children who walked or drove out of Kosovo—150,000 by the end of last week with long lines still heading that way—told chillingly



Tenets while waiting at the border: Being Kosovo's capital, Pristina (right), many want to go to the West.

year-old Abdul Destani, who fled from Kosovo with his family of nine. And there were obvious signs the Kosovars fled in haste. Those lucky enough to drive their own cars out of Kosovo could now be easily spotted by their missing license plates, which the Serbs insisted be removed at the border. Despite the weary children perched in the backseats or perched on parents' knees, the fleets of slow-moving Ladas and Audis rode high over Albania's potholes—there were so few potholes on board to weigh them down.

This was the road where, three brothers and nine members of her family traveled on towards their uncertain future last week. Sitting in the damp living room of an apartment in the tiny town of Matireva, 45 km north of the capital, she tagged each story at her bare neck to show how a neighbor she once owned had been ripped away by Serb police. She said the police had entered their home in the Kosovo village of Jakovo, while guns were trained on their house. "We didn't know what to do, so we said, 'Let them take everything,'" Roshaj recalled. "They came and broke everything in the house, took everything we had."

Including some of the men. Roshaj's son is missing. With her six-year-old grandson, Elbasan, leaning against her legs, she described how the police beat the boy's father. She thrashed her feet and clasped at the back of her head to show how he was kicked and hit. "My son, they wanted to kill my son," she said, her head lolling back, her voice rising. Behind Roshaj, her daughter-in-law pulled her brother's child into a corner. Ten days after that first attack, Roshaj continued, "the Serbs returned when we were in the fields doing work of the animals. They let our village on fire." Their tractors stolen, the family walked to the border, she said, crossing into Albania after three nights spent in the

and all Albanian businesses right down to rickety street kiosks had been burned. The atrocities, coupled with the systematic destruction of personal identity documents, indicated that Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic was doing more than fighting a war against the separatist Kosovo Liberation Army, or KLA. By the end of the week, the outside world had come to ask whether Milosevic was actually engaged in an audacious attempt to empty Kosovo of its 1.8 million ethnic Albanians.

The Serb government in Belgrade claimed the refugees were fleeing in terror from the NATO air strikes. But on the road to Tirana, where buses crowded with refugees bounced their way south, there was no evidence to support that claim. "We don't blame NATO. If anything, it came too late," said a disheveled but assertive 63-year-old Albanian.

And there were obvious signs the Kosovars fled in haste. Those lucky enough to drive their own cars out of Kosovo could now be easily spotted by their missing license plates, which the Serbs insisted be removed at the border. Despite the weary children perched in the backseats or perched on parents' knees, the fleets of slow-moving Ladas and Audis rode high over Albania's potholes—there were so few potholes on board to weigh them down.

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woods. Again, she personalized vigorously to show how all their identity papers were torn to pieces and tossed away. "Times brought them south as far as Matireva. When I saw them, I realized these were my people," said Ferga Lala, a muscular Albanian policeman. He said he found a Matireva family willing to take them in. "We will feed them," he said, standing in a muddy alley to beat the apartment block. "We are ready to sacrifice for them."

But relying on the kindness of other Albanians is not a viable long-term solution to the refugee crisis. The country's limited resources for handling refugees are already strained. Ethnic Albanians have been fleeing Kosovo's violence for a year now and the escalation of that violence into a deluge is also testing the patience of its desperately poor people. Albanians still refer to Kosovars as "brothers," but the two groups are more like country and dry seasons. Under the lengthy, cruel dictatorship of Slobodan Foster Huch, Albanians lived an isolated, suspicious existence. Tirana was swathed with conspiracy theories last week, rumors that Milosevic was colluding with—even paying—the Albanian government to move the Kosovars out, was one. "Something is not right," said nationalist leader Refik Zeka with a thin smile. "And Albania is not right."

Many Kosovars, by comparison, have had the chance to travel and better exposed to European influences. "There is some good

ways here because they have had a better life," said Ukso, who had come to a Tirana refugee camp in search of family members he hadn't seen in 28 years. "They are more educated, more civilized, because they are Western citizens while this country was blocked out."

There is potential for a culture clash: some poor Albanians have demanded first from Kosovar refugees who came to stay months ago and haven't moved on. In Tirana, there were stories last week of Kosovar families arriving at the home of Albanians who had already been sheltered, only to turn up their noses at the housing conditions and walk away. "I'm actually physically disgusted by the warmth Albanians are showing," said Arjan Gjikoll, an Albanian development worker in Tirana who insisted the two sides could understand each other. "If anything, we feel badly because we are so poor that we can't offer them much." But Albania cannot be expected to absorb the population of Kosovo. "With no they can't stay here," said Gjikoll. "There is nothing to do. No work. Even Albanians don't want to stay here."

But a vast sea of bodies across western Europe, suddenly, a sea of thousands of thousands of people—at least—are on the move in a corner of the Balkans. Albania is a barely functioning state, weakened by official corruption and unable to police itself. It is not even nearly



ON ASSIGNMENT: BRUCE WALLACE IN TIRANA.

difficult country in which to mount a massive relief operation, particularly because of the terrible roads over mountainous terrain. "We are getting this much information," says German aid worker Ludwig Wimmermann as he holds his thumb and finger a half-inch apart. Stripped of documents, the Kosovars are easy prey for human smugglers. And many will be looking to escape the region altogether by heading for Western Europe.

"Physically, there just isn't room in Albania for this many refugees," said Jon Wicks, director of the Albanian delegation for the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. He stood within a whirl of the feral water standing in the bottom of three partially drained swimming pools in a Terna park, around which rows of abandoned cars had been parked for 2,000 refugees. "If you were Milosevic," he said, diplomatically choosing to pose his theory as a question, "don't you think your best weapon against NATO would be to unleash two million refugees on Western Europe?" That," he said, "is a far more effective weapon than any MIG fighter could be." Certainly NATO would respond as fast as it should and bloody as usual on combat. Western governments were well aware Milosevic was preparing for war, they just

thought he would direct his fire at the RLA. Mosters for the Kosovo Verification Mission, who were responsible for ensuring compliance with last year's now-disputed treaty, glorified the build-up in their reports. "We let it get away on us," said Denis Viana, who served as an OSCE observer in Kosovo until all foreigners pulled out on March 22. The St. John, N.B., native sat in a Terna hotel last week, preparing to return to

Alban over the build-up was dutifully reported by the monitors. But reports out of Belgrade last week said NATO officials were stunned when Milosevic first said to systematically terrorize civilians. "It's obvious now that plan for this go-back package as far as a year," one NATO official told *Mileovic*. "But it was more than difficult to imagine that in a country of two million people, Milosevic would try to inject 30 per cent of it. It was remarkable."

For refugees were critical of NATO. At times, the Albanians resented their best hope of driving Milosevic's forces from Kosovo. "I blame NATO to a degree, yes," said Ramadan Gashi, a 26-year-old primary school teacher who fled his farming suburb of Shturice. Low-level ethnic cleansing had been going on there for months, but the dramatic explosions only began four days after the NATO bombs started falling. "They should have at least foreseen what would happen to our people," he said. "They didn't know the Serb government very well. Not like we know them." Yet he, too, argued NATO should keep up the campaign. "So our country can be free and we can go home."

Gashi was standing in the public courtyard of a technical college that had been converted into a refugee shelter in the port city of Durres. With housing space and blankets in desperately short supply, Albanian police were trying to push new arrivals to communities further south. Inside the concrete school building, refugees slept 35 to a room, with running water for just four hours a day and no way to cook a meal. "That they still want to come to Durres," said aid worker Wimmermann to be banished west. "They are in children from the back of a truck." "This is a part here," Durres is not Albania's main smuggling port, but \$1,000 (U.S.) will still get you a seat on a speed boat to Italy, and the moon in the courtyard. They did not yet know what the war had done to the price.

But not everyone wants to get to the West. Not 12-year-old Fatima Krasni, who sat in a corner of the courtyard and wearily described the bloody day when she had been separated from her husband in the village of Leshten. She only wanted to know where he was. Not Susan Doka, a 29-year-old seamstress, who had already been a refugee almost Kosovo for a year, moving to Kosovo after her husband began snubbed out of the country altogether. "NATO should keep bombing to free Kosovo," she said. Doka was sure she would be home in a month. "That is our wish to go back," agreed teacher Gashi, his jaw trembling slightly. "Even though there is nothing left, even though they burned everything, we would go back there soon. Because wherever you go, be welcomed in this good English, 'your home town is just here.'"

# A LIVING HELL

## Kosovars reaching Macedonia find filth, disease and armed guards

**T**hey are beginning to die in the fields at Blace, under light spring rains that are turning the yellow-green grass into a soupy mess of the Pcinja River. An usual, it is the very young and the very old who are most vulnerable. The first to go was an infant, "a little boy less than a year old," according to Dr.

Besir Daskal, a physician with the Los Angeles-based International Medical Corps who first treated the child in a tent atop a hill overlooking the river. He died last Friday night, after being rushed to hospital in Skopje. The Macedonian doctors, by Saturday morning, with the rains still falling, 10 more had followed, all of them children or old men and women. "It is the infections that are killing them," said the doctor, standing in the rain, casting a helpless look down at the teeming mass of immorally heaped in the mud below.

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The fifth is indescribable, below the landscape with plastic bottles and bags, empty tin cans, discarded shoes, piles of human excrement. It chokes the streams that trickle down the hillsides into the river. "Sanitation is now a primary concern," said Daskal. "There simply are no facilities here. There is enough food on hand, but we are in danger of clean water. It's the reason why the infections are beginning to take their toll. We have all kinds of cholera, of course, but we are also seeing signs of meningitis and

polio myelitis. The situation is bad and I fear it will only get worse."

The Macedonian authorities are clearly overwhelmed by the situation, judging from the sheer chaos that has ensued at the fields. But there is also strong evidence that those in power are deliberately attempting to slow the onward movement of the refugees, motivated perhaps by anxiety about the politically destabilizing effect of a huge increase in the ethnic Albanian population of the country. Before the current crisis broke, Macedonia's two million people included almost a half-million in the ethnic Albanian population of the western regions of the country along the borders with Albania. The abiding fear is that any increase in those numbers, particularly in the west, would lead to the creation of a Greater Albania, living off part of Macedonia into union with Albania proper. If that should occur, it would exacerbate the tensions that already exist between Macedonia's Albanian and Serbian minorities.

Without doubt, the Macedonian authorities are taking care to channel the movements of the Kosovo Albanians near on their soil. Only a trickle are being allowed out of the firing belt at Blace. Those who stay in the rain is being painstakingly processed before being herded onto buses and shipped off to one of the five refugee camps the Macedonian government is currently guarding. The commitment at Blace is ragged with Macedonian soldiers in full combat gear, preventing entry or entry.

A lucky few manage to escape the net, but only those who are clearly ill. A blood-soaked woman with a protruding adolescent girl in her arms struggles through the police barricade, nearly dropping the child. A local man comes to her aid, helping the girl into his arms. The woman is too distraught to speak. Some time later, an elderly couple staggers by the police. The woman, who calls herself Vanda, and the man, Alibon, relate the same tale that all the other refugees tell, of being rounded out of their homes by Serbian troops and ordered to leave. "They took away my sons," she sobs, "all four of them. I don't know where they are."

Standing nearby is Ahmed Ramovic, a 26-year-old Albanian from Kosovo who has lived in Macedonia for several years. He stares down at the fields beside the river, eyes rimmed with despair. "There are eight thousand of my family there," he says. "They have been here for five days but I cannot get in and they cannot get out. I don't understand." Few do, especially those unfortunate enough to be trapped in the mud below.



BESIR DASKAL

IN BLACE, MACEDONIA



Fighting over bread in the Blace camp; sanitation is now a primary concern

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## DALLAIRE AND BARIL

A new study of Rwanda's 1994 massacres says that Canadian leader of UN peacekeeping troops, Lt.-Gen. Romeo Dallaire, clashed with his superiors over his unheeded warnings of impending bloodshed. Among them was Canada's current military chief, Gen. Maurice Baril, then senior military adviser at the United Nations, who felt he had to keep soldiers "on a leash," said a 77-page report by Human Rights Watch. It said Dallaire sent five further messages in addition to his much-reported Jan. 11, 1994, warning of coming violence. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, who was chief of peacekeeping at the time, has ordered an inquiry into UN actions.

## WAR CRIMINAL

A retired British Red ticket collector was sentenced to life in prison for the Second World War execution of two Jewish women in the last test of Britain's war crimes law. Anthony Brown, 76, was a policeman who worked for the Nazis in his native Britain before emigrating in 1940. Key evidence came from a witness who was a 13-year-old boy at the time.

## OBSTRUCTING JUSTICE

Marine Capt. Joseph Schwetzer pleaded guilty in military court to destroying a videotape of the training flight that clipped a gondola cable in Corsica, Italy, a year ago, killing 20 people. A jury recommended the 31-year-old navigator be discharged from the military. Pilot Richard Ashby was acquitted of involuntary manslaughter on March 4, but still faces obstruction charges over the tape's disappearance.

## ASYLUM SEEKERS

Paraguay's new president, Luis González Machón, is expected that neighboring Brazil and Argentina have granted political asylum to Paraguay's former president, Paul Cubas, and ousted military coup leader Lino Oviedo. The two men fled amid turmoil following the assassination of Cuba's former vice-president, Luis María Argento.

## UGANDAN PARK REOPENS

The first tourists were allowed back into Bwindi National Park since Feb. 28, when guerrillas killed eight foreigners and abducted 14, including a Canadian. The area, home to rare mountain gorillas, lies near Uganda's troubled border with Rwanda and Congo.



## SENTENCED TO DIE:

From his cage-like cell in a Kiev courtroom, Anatoli Onoprienko listens to a judge finally pronounce the death sentence after detailing the enormity of the crimes for two days. The 38-year-old former sailor was convicted of a murderous rampage in 1996 that took the lives of 52 people, including entire families who were shot, stabbed or bludgeoned to death in modern Ukraine's worst serial killing. A team of psychiatrists ruled Onoprienko fit for trial despite claims of schizophrenia and "dark forces" that guided his deeds. A special act of the legislature will be required to carry out the sentence. Ukraine has imposed a moratorium on the death penalty. None of the 146 people sentenced to death since the beginning of 1998 has been executed.

## New York's cops on trial

Turning an explosive "Not guilty" fear into a harrowing assault on New York City were charged with second-degree murder last week for the killing of an unarmed African street pedlar in a hail of 41 bullets. The charges, the most serious that could be laid under the circumstances, brought at least a hail of denunciations and racial strife that have since New York in recent weeks will pose a serious political challenge for Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. Since 22-year-old Amadou Diallo was killed in the vestibule of his apartment building in the early hours of Feb. 4, a total of 1,200 people had been arrested in demonstrations outside police headquarters and a New York

Times survey found that three-quarters of New Yorkers think their police force is racially biased. Blacks in particular felt that police brutality against minority groups is widespread. The four officers—Anthonio Rose, Sean Carroll, Edward McElroy and Richard Murphy—were members of a crack platoon called Unit 10, which was assigned to the city's poorest, most dangerous neighborhoods. The officers believed he was armed with a gun. Since the shooting, the four officers have been suspended with pay, the strict-censor unit has been ordered to wear fluorescent vests of placards, and 50 jobs at the predominantly white division are being reassigned to minority officers.

## IRA guns stall peace in Northern Ireland

A year after the Good Friday accord, peace in Northern Ireland is still hung up over demands that the Irish Republican Army hand over some of its weaponry. Despite months of negotiation, talks to form a government has a snag when Protestant First Minister David Trimble insisted that the Catholic-based IRA must start downsizing before its political wing Sinn Féin can be invited into the coalition cabinet. Fearing abridgments, British Prime Minister Tony Blair adjourned the talks last April 13 to develop a new "framework" for the discussions. The impasse came at the start of the traditional Easter shopping season when sectarian divisions are most on display.

# WILL SPAR SURVIVE?

Disgruntled investors may dismantle a high-tech icon

BY D'ARCY JENISH

**D**avid Musiloff was in a buoyant mood as he addressed shareholders and guests at a Spar Aerospace research and development facility in Brampton, Ont., one day last June. Musiloff, president of Spar's space robotics division, was speaking at a gathering to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Canadarm aboard the U.S. space shuttle. Since its inaugural flight in November, 1981, the 15-ton long, 60-cm thick mobile manipulator arm has placed satellites in orbit, helped repair the Hubble space telescope and performed many other tasks. Along the way, it became a cherished national symbol of Canadian scientific expertise.

"Canadarm," Musiloff enthused, "helped prove that we have the brains, the creativity and the wherewithal to develop advanced technology that is recognized around the world." And, said the president, "I can tell you what a thrill it is for all of us at Spar to host this celebration." Less than a year later, Canadarm is no longer part of the Spar family, and the company is in danger of being shut down by disgruntled investors.

Finally, other Spar executives were less excited than Musiloff about Canadarm's contribution to the company. Last month, Spar sold the space robotics group that developed it and a more venerable successor, which will be used in the construction of the International Space Station now getting under way. The purchaser was Richmond, B.C.-based MacDonald, Dettwiler and Associ-

ates, for \$80 million. The transaction was part of a larger sell-off of high-tech assets aimed at enhancing profits and boosting Spar's share price. That left the company with just one business—in profitable aircraft maintenance and repair division. The strategy, says Spar executives, had investors' interests in mind. "Spar has had an illustrious track record technologically," says president Colin Watson, appointed three years ago to lead a new executive team. "But from an investor standpoint, it's been profoundly disappointing."

Whatever Spar's intentions, the principal investors remain seriously disappointed. Spar, in fact, is facing a shareholder revolt which could, according to some observers, lead to the dissolution of the company. A group of 10 hedge investors who hold 38 per cent of Spar stock—which closed last week near its 52-week high at \$12 but well below the \$21.50 level it attained as recently as 1996—intends to replace seven of nine directors at a shareholders' meeting in Toronto on May 13. They will also attempt to have almost \$160 million accumulated through the sale of assets distributed to shareholders as a dividend—a move that at best would derail management's strategy to grow through the acquisition of other aviation maintenance firms, and at worst could shut down Spar entirely. "I just don't think the company will continue," says John Deitch, an analyst with Toronto-based Vickers Securities. "They could sell the remaining business and Spar would end up a shell company with cash. The shareholders could distribute all the money, wind it down and say, 'Adios.'"

Members of the investors' group, who are believed to



Watson, facing on one facet of business



Canadarm at work: the hive-of division will stay in Brampton, Ont.

have acquired their Spar holdings independently before deciding to act jointly are not disclosing their intentions. A New York City investment company, Crossroads Partners LP, is the largest single investor, with a 19-per-cent stake. Halifax-based DMP Group Ltd. is next with 16 per cent, and another Toronto company, Enterprise Capital Management Inc., holds just under 10 per cent. Their complaints about Spar management revolve the sale of the space robotics division and appear to be rooted in a frustration not being able to gain information from the company. "A group of shareholders wanted to find out in which direction management wanted to take the company," says DMP vice-chairman James Redford, "and they were not forthcoming. This is about governance."

DMP is the only member of the shareholders' group which is seen as a potential candidate to take over Spar's aviation services business if the other investors decide to sell it all and wind up the firm. DMP is an operating company with approximately 5,000 employees and four divisions, one of them being aircraft maintenance and repair. Founded in 1967 by British-born entrepreneur Rexford Rowe, the Halifax firm began buying and resuscitating money-losing or bankrupt Atlantic Canadian companies and now has operations in seven provinces, the United States, England and Russia. Its holdings include a share in a Moscow hotel, an airplane part factory in Portland, N.S., and an operation which repairs and refits Canada's Sea King helicopters and turboprop Arctic surveillance planes. DMP's willingness to take a tough line was apparent last year when

it arranged to have a Russian Aeroflot jetliner stranded at Montreal's Dorval Airport to back its demands for payments from the airline related to a hotel joint venture in Moscow.

The other members of the dividend Spar investors' group, Crossroads, Delaney and Enterprise, merely buy up stakes in publicly traded companies and sometimes take seats on boards of directors in order to set policy and maximize returns. They do not, as a rule, attempt to manage or operate those firms. "We principally look for companies that we can invest in and help them grow over a long period of time," says Enterprise chairman James MacDonald, who joined the Spar board last November.

Several observers say Spar became vulnerable to such market players when its share prices languished in the \$7 to \$11 range throughout 1996 even as management sold off divisions of the company and accumulated cash in its corporate treasury. In June, 1996, Spar sold its software engineering business, PDS/CI Data Sciences, which specializes in air traffic control and defense work, to a group of managers for \$15 million. Then, last October, the company completed the sale of San Diego-based ComStream Corp., which it had acquired in 1992 for \$58 million. The money-losing ComStream, which designs components used in satellite and broadcast communications, was broken up and sold to three buyers for \$85 million.

Next to go was wholly owned subsidiary, Astro Aerospace Corp. of Coquitlam, B.C., which was part of Spar's space systems division. Among other things, Astro designed and manufactured the ramps used by the unmanned Space Shuttle vehicle to descend from a NASA spacecraft to the surface of Mars during the 1997 Pathfinder mission. The tower and electronics group of Cleveland-based IOW Inc. acquired Astro in January for a total of \$30.6 million. Also in January, Spar sold software business, located in the Montreal suburb of Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue, Que., to Electronic Magnetic Sciences Inc. of Newcourt, Ga., for \$38.5 million.

Finally, in late March, Spar announced the sale of its high-profile space robotics division, which has built the Canadarm for NASA's shuttle program since 1984. When the deal closes later this month, the division's 450 employees at its Brampton facility will join the staff of MacDonald, Dettwiler, which has a workforce of about 1,300 people in several critical areas. Canadarm software engineers will move to Spar's robotics division over the past decade. Although MacDonald Dettwiler is U.S.-owned, the division will stay in Brampton. "We're going to keep the people working on their current projects," says company president Daniel Friedman. "We're going to try to book new business and grow the division. It's the jewel of the Canadian high-tech industry."

The space robotics group will receive \$128 million in 1998 and around another \$17 million profit before taxes. It performs routine maintenance and technical upgrades on the existing Canadarm, but most of its revenue comes from federal contracts to develop new products. The group is currently working on several components for the 16-ton International Space Station, including a longer, more advanced version of the Canadarm and a two-armed robot capable of doing more complex tasks, such as working on spacewalks. As well, the group is completing work on three robotically instructed distillers that will become an attraction at a Florida theme park.

As for Spar Aerospace, its future is on hold until the mutual meeting. Watson and his management team had chosen to develop the company's lucrative aircraft maintenance and repair business. With the liquidation of Toronto-based CAC Inc.'s aviation services subsidiary, Spar's revenues from that sector jumped to \$126 million in 1996, up from \$55 million the previous year, and profits doubled to reach \$14.4 million. "This has been the profitable part of the business," says Watson, "but it was overshadowed by the flashy high-tech stuff which was financially spotty, to be charitable." Spar may be on a profitable path, but the incoming board could still opt to distribute the cash and wind up a company that has long been synonymous with high-tech achievement in Canada.

With JOHN DEMONT in Halifax



# Disaster-prone

## Insurance companies expect payouts to increase

It is a maxim in the insurance industry that disasters are good for business. After all, until people are someone else hit by a calamity, they are not motivated to buy insurance. Lastly, however, the industry's claims record for natural disasters has been too much of a good thing. Since 1983, Canadian insurance payouts for damage done by land, floods, fire, earthquakes and other acts of nature have been roughly doubling every five years, with last year's ice storm in eastern Canada they reached a single-year record of \$1.5 billion. The trend is not limited to Canada, as illustrated by Munich Reinsurance Co., the world's largest company selling coverage against exceptional losses to retail insurers. Last month, Munich released a study showing that, globally, annual losses to natural disasters have risen 900 per cent since 2000, with insurance claims inching up by 1,500 per cent. Breathtakingly enough, until now little of that soaring cost has found its way into premiums for home and property insurance. But the financial conditions that make that possible are changing. The current forecast: higher premiums ahead.

Driving the expected increases is both a growing consensus among insurers that more, and worse, natural disasters are on the way. "It is a fact," says Terry Squire, president of Guelph, Ont.-based Co-operators Group Ltd., "that we are having more events, and the loss potential is rising substantially." Scientific explanations for its increasingly erratic weather range from the well-publicized global warming phenomenon to fairly understood climatic cycles. And not all calamitous claims are weather-related: the world's record disaster loss came from an earthquake in Kobe, Japan, in 1995. Increasing urban populations, rising property values and deteriorating infrastructure also contribute to the soaring cost of disaster claims. In a detailed forecast of what could be ahead, scientific and insurance industry experts who gathered last last

month in Vancouver to discuss disaster risk based extensive data on an earthquake under that city (which geologists say is overdue) would do a terrifying \$30 billion worth of damage in a matter of seconds.

With costs soaring already, and more losses ahead, why have consumers not yet felt the pinch? The main reason, says Toronto



Red River flood in Manitoba in 1997: analysts forecast higher premiums

actuary Jim Christie, who helps insurance companies predict their exposure to potential losses, has been the extended bull run on North American stock markets. All insurers are required to set capital aside as a buffer against any large claims. In the short term, at least, returns from the investment of that capital can cover any difference between premiums and benefit payouts. Thanks to the market, notes Squire, "we were able to offset losses with the sale of equities at a profit. It's been an extraordinarily happy coincidence."

But one that has just about run its terrible time course. For starters, most analysts consider the bull market an equity to be cashed for a correction. At the same time, experts say, competition among the country's 200 or so property and casualty insurers has accelerated an unsustainable price war in premiums in many markets. "They're all losing money now," says Vancouver insurance broker David Edgar. "They'll go through maybe a year of this, then they'll start raising prices."

Individual companies have already moved to limit their exposure. In the last four years, most have closely examined where they underwrite coverage—and consciously scaled back their business in especially vulnerable areas such as the low-lying community of Richmond, south of Vancouver, where an earthquake could rupture oil-welding built the Fraser River and inundate large areas. Another tactic: higher deductibles. In the case of Co-operators, deductibles for earthquakes coverage have risen from one or two per cent of the insured loss to as much as 10 per cent.

Collectively, the industry is also reacting. A year ago, the Insurance Council of Canada (the largest industry association) established the Institute for Catastrophic Loss Reduction in Toronto, with a budget of about \$500,000 to explore new ways to contain losses. It sponsored last month's meeting about earthquakes in Vancouver, one of a series meant to acquaint insurers with the scale of damage they can expect from various natural disasters. Others will examine hail, flooding and hurricanes. In May the institute plans to unveil a proposal for a national disaster mitigation strategy, which will call on governments to invest up to \$100 million a year in flood-reducing dams, reinforcement of major structures and other preventive measures.

But more disasters cannot be easily contained. In fact, not all can even be covered by insurance. Canadian homeowners cannot buy flood insurance, although Americans can through U.S. government-backed policies sold by private insurers. Dams and dikes, meanwhile, are little defense against an earthquake. It seems certain that losses to natural disasters will continue to rise. And, co-operators agrees in another uncomfortable finding of the insurance industry: "In the end, policyholders always pay their own losses."

CHRIS WOOD in Vancouver

## Who's afraid of the big, bad commute?



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## Business NOTES

### A VOTE FOR VOISEY'S

An environmental assessment panel has approved the \$1.1-billion mine project at Voisey's Bay, Ont., provided a settlement is reached on aboriginal land claims in Labrador. In a major report, the panel stressed the mine and host must receive fair compensation for adverse impact to their lands, access to jobs and a role in project management. Inco Ltd., the project's sponsor, and the Innu Nation both praised the panel's study.

### ROYAL OAK HANGS ON

Calling it the final move, an Ontario Court judge gave embattled Royal Oak Mines Inc. until April 16 to restructure or face receivership. As expected, Trilon Financial Corp. of Toronto, Royal Oak's largest creditor, sought to have a receiver appointed. Instead, the judge is owed more than \$180 million. A lawyer for two of three banks owed money argued that receivership might be in Trilon's interest, but would be detrimental to other stakeholders.

### JAPANESE SCALE BACK

Hatohi Ltd., Japan's largest machinery maker, plans to cut 2,500 workers and transfer 4,000 by mid-March. The move affects about 10 per cent of Hitachi's 67,000-member workforce. Mitsubishi Corp., a major trading company, also announced it would cut its workforce by 900 to 1,000. The cuts are the latest in a series for companies in Japan as companies struggle to improve their financial positions in the face of the country's economic woes.

### THE KPMG FIGHT

An injunction has delayed a vote on a plan to merge KPMG Canada and Arthur Andersen Canada and create the biggest accounting and consulting firm in the country. An Ontario court judge ordered the vote be postponed until April 28 after receiving a complaint from a dissident KPMG partner, vice-chairman David Knight.

### BURIED IN RED INK

Close to bankruptcy, federal home loan lender Group Inc. is reporting a \$205-million loss for 1998, compared with a \$82.8-million profit the year before. The Burnaby, B.C.-based company announced the loss after taking a \$865-million write-down on the sales of U.S. and Puerto Rican funeral homes and crematories.

## A tough banker takes charge

John Haskins's reputation with turmoil may serve him well. The newly anointed chairman and chief executive of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce has weathered the turmoil of capital markets that caused the bank's earnings to plummet in the fourth quarter of last year. And he has known high points as the president of CIBC's investment operations. Those include 1997, the year his pay package totalled \$503 million, largely because of his division's spectacular performance. While the investment arm has been improving on last year's dismal results, Haskins, 53, still faces some choppy seas as he takes over on June 3 from retiring chairman Al Flood.



The CIBC's Haskins: choppy seas ahead

The April 1 appointment surprised some investors and caused the bank's stock to lose 60 cents to close at \$38, well below the high of \$43 in the past year, while the stocks of CIBC's other big banks rose. Many analysts had predicted Haskins's more conservative risk. Holger Kluge, president of CIBC's retail and commercial division, would get the spot for the chairman's job. Instead, Kluge is leaving the bank—the understanding between the two institutions was that the lower would go. Haskins was asked to try to appease the debtors. During a conference call with analysts and investors, he said the bank needs to shift its

business plan away from some of the more volatile capital markets. Haskins said his first priority is to strengthen shareholder value. Haskins plans a two-month review of operations and will tend to great dislike between the retail and investment divisions, recognizing several underlying business units.

Flood said the bank's board chose Haskins "for his courage to implement bold and visionary strategies" at a time when the bank industry is facing rapid change after Ottawa's revision of bank mergers.

Chairman at other major banks are also dealing with change.

At Toronto Dominion Bank, CIBC's would-be merger partner, chairman and CEO Charles Budek announced the anticipated public offering of about 10 per cent of the bank's "brown paper"—the global discount brokerage business.

TD's brokerage division is a big player in online trading. Through this share offering, TD stands to profit from the rising prices of Internet-related stocks. Meanwhile, the Bank of Montreal's Matthew Barrett, who has retired as CEO and will step down as chairman this fall, has found himself another proposed bank merger. The bank government made the national official—managing Barrett chairman of state-owned ACC Bank and TD Bank, which are scheduled to merge next year.

## FINANCIAL OUTLOOK

The Bank of Canada cut its benchmark interest rate by a quarter of a point, to five per cent—the first time in two years that the central bank trimmed its lending rate, when the U.S. Federal Reserve said not.

The U.S. rate remains at 4.75 per cent. The Canadian benchmark rate affects everything from money markets to consumer borrowing. The lending industry followed the lead

by cutting the prime lending rate (at its last cut) by the same amount, to 6.5 per cent. Mortgage rates had

been to fall earlier in the week in anticipation of the central bank's decision.

The decision resulted from continued low domestic inflation and improved global markets. The bank said. With the latest drop, the Bank of Canada fully reversed the one-percentage-point increase it imposed on borrowing costs last August. That hike was put in place to prop up the dollar, hurt by an economic crisis in Asia.

### LOWERING THE BENCHMARK

The Bank of Canada continues to reduce its benchmark interest rate





# Peter C. Newman

## Rewriting history: Louis Riel as a hero

**T**he most popular politician in Canada at the moment, according to pollster Angus Reid, who knows these things, is Louis Riel. In a national survey published last week by the National Post, Riel's "approval rating" stands at a phenomenal 75 per cent, that being the proportion of Canadians who believe it was *just* wrong that the government hanged the Métis leader as a traitor in 1885 at a Regina jail.

Most Canadians want Riel commemorated and declared one of the true Fathers of Confederation. It's a worthy cause that deserves to be taken seriously. We don't have nearly enough heroes in this country, and the Métis visionary richly deserves that recognition.

The Red River Rebellion, which Riel led in 1869-1870, and the War thereupon in which he was defeated 15 years later, are the most enduring of Canadian myths. His execution, as the direct order of Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald, was based more on politics than on justice. For one thing, Riel ought never to have been tried in Regina. Captured in what is now northern Saskatchewan, the Métis leader was en route to Winnipeg for trial, but when he reached the CPR main line at Moose Jaw, Ontario, ordered him returned to Regina for "judicial reasons." The real motive was that under Manitoba law prisoners could demand that half the jury be French-speaking. The Northwest Territories, where Regina was then located, had no such provision.

Riel's dominant characteristic was his very Canadian sense of ambiguity. Caught between his Métis nationalism and a surprisingly strong Victorian sense of loyalty, he could never let go of either conviction. It once pervaded the life he spent. During the eight months he was in 1870 as the self-proclaimed president of the Northwest, Riel gave his subjects a mixture of land grants, buffalo-hunt successes and a formal Victorian track coat.

Throughout his life, he constantly challenged Anglo-Saxon hegemony (represented by the Hudson's Bay Co.) in order, as he paradoxically kept insisting, "to give our just rights as British subjects." In one moving address to his followers, the Métis leader glowed with loneliness as he grieved them for leaving to the Queen—the same Queen who decreed when that very same just marching went to destroy him. It was Riel's efforts—armed only by the immediate execution by his followers of a Protestant newly-cured Thomas Stairs—that earlier brought Manitoba into Confederation.

The Northwest Rebellion that followed much later, in fact, was not triggered by Riel, but by the soldiers along the South Saskatchewan River, radicalized by Ottawa's inactivity to their demands, who asked the then-called Métis to champion their cause. Riel, who had been living peacefully in Montana, set up a provisional government

at Battleford, a short southwest of Prince Albert, and organized people of the Northwest Territories to resist the central authority.

Macdonald desperately wanted to quash the rebellion, but there was no practical way to move the militia west. The CPR's Lake Superior line was incomplete, with four gaps totalling 138 separate kilometres yet to be filled in. At precisely this moment, the CPR, already heavily over budget, faced bankruptcy. Its founding financiers, Donald Smith and George Stephen, were back in their customary pose, politics unattended for yet another government handout. The CPR had run out of payroll money and notes worth \$7 million would be maturing by June, 1885. Failure to redeem them would push the company into insolvency in British Columbia, a band of 300 strikers, demanding back wages, was brought in by the North West Mounted Police, and the company's stock was a free-fall on the New York and London exchanges.

William Van Horne, the CPR's construction boss, who was in Ottawa to backlog Smith and Stephen, announced that if the government put 3,000 men in his care, he would guarantee to have them on the Qu'Appelle River in 12 days. Two days later, CPR trains were pulling into Ottawa to load the soldiers. Singing *The God I Left Behind Me*, the men marched to the station for one of the most remarkable train rides in history. Van Horne routed trains across temporary rails but only hours earlier, and at each end of track loaded the troops into kindly freighted freight cars, freights, three weeks and most railway to keep up their speeds. Fifteen years earlier, it had taken the troops 96 days to move from Toronto to Red River. Van Horne's army made it in seven, and two days after that they were safely in what is now

Saskatchewan. After a four-day battle, Riel surrendered to three Mounted Police scouts. Riel received a military reward: the CPR with enough government cash to complete its railway—in no small way, Riel helped save the railway.

Had it not been for Scott's execution, the Métis chief would not suddenly have been elected Manitoba's first premier and could possibly have claimed to be a Father of Confederation. But in Canada, civic monuments are erected to conquerors, not rebels. Still, Riel's resistance salvaged the French element in Canada's Northwest and at the present scattered on the Métis a degree of self-confidence and self-awareness they have not possessed before or since.

Louis Riel's inner conflict was so acute—and as contemporary—as Canada itself: a clash between the collective demands of a largely French-speaking group, the Métis, and the stubbornly held individual rights of English-Canadians. A useful way for us to get closer together would be to honour Louis Riel for his undeniable achievements. He was one of our greatest frontier heroes. It's high time we gave him his due.

**A useful way for us to get closer together would be to honour the Métis leader for his undeniable achievements**

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## Technology

Statements are only respect in the investigation



## Melissa's message

Yes, it was bad Internet manners, admits the Blok, a software engineer at Canada's University of Waterloo, but he and countless others did it anyway. The July of what they did—sneaky attaching Microsoft Word documents to their outgoing electronic messages in a matter of jobs—once creating huge loss week with the astonishingly rapid spread of Melissa, the most virulent computer virus ever unleashed. "It's considered impolite to send one of these Word documents," says Blok as he ponders the Melissa phenomenon, "because the receiver can't know what's going to be in there until they open them."

Holt's computer was not infected, but the lack of diligence by someone as Internet as the computer culture as he is was simply a reflection of the lax attitude towards security among computer users. Now, beginners and experts alike have been reminded of what Word files might contain: the specified macro viruses like Melissa, a prolific electronic pathogen that shut down use of thousands of government and business computers around the world and touched off an FBI complaint, culminating in a suit served in New Jersey. "It's like unsafe sex," says Blok. "You can't communicate that way any more."

While Melissa was hardly the AIDS virus of computers, it could have been. As it was, Melissa did not damage computers or their data contents, it simply incapacitated systems by overwhelming them. In Canada,

Northern Telecom Ltd. was among companies that had to shut down e-mail servers to purge their systems. At Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh, the suspected Computer Emergency Response Team felled calls from more than 300 organizations representing more than 100,000 computers around the world. "These are only the people who reported to us," said CERN spokesman Bill Pelak. "The actual numbers are a lot higher."

### A nasty computer virus could have been worse

The virus struck users of Microsoft's popular word processing programs Word 6.0 and Word 6.0.0, taking advantage of their macro feature. Macros are programs that automatically format a document to appear a certain way. Unfortunately, says Blok, the ease with which these programs can be altered allows computer hackers to create malicious programs—called viruses—that cause computers to malfunction. Thousands of macro viruses already exist, but antivirus programs, which must be updated frequently, available most. Furthermore, says John Duncan, a Microsoft product manager in Redmond, Wash., that company's programs contain a sticky feature to warn users they are about to open a file that contains a macro program. "In the case of the Melissa virus," says Duncan, "if users were taking advantage of the security features, they would have been protected."

The trouble, says Blok, is that many people damage their working systems because they do not understand the potential consequences



## 1999 Maclean's In-Class Program Student Writing Awards

### Which events in the 20th century have had the greatest impact on Canada?

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- Mailed entries must be postmarked no later than May 15, 1999. Submissions must not exceed 1,000 words and must be typewritten, double spaced and margin in the upper left hand corner. Handwritten entries and those illegibly typed will not be judged. A covering sheet must be stapled to the front of each essay listing the student's name, address, telephone number, age and grade as well as the school name and address, telephone number and teacher's name.
- Entries are assigned to one submission per student. All entries must be the original, unpublished writing of the student, and may not be edited by teachers or other adults. Entries must be submitted exclusively to the 1999 Maclean's In-Class Program Student Writing Awards.
- All entries become the property of Maclean's In-Class Program.
- Sources of submissions will be acknowledged only if a managed self-addressed envelope is enclosed with the entry. Please keep a copy of your submission. Manuscripts will not be returned.
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## TECHNOLOGY

of opening a macro-containing file. On top of that, he adds, Microsoft has made manipulating macros so easy that it has "basically left a loaded gun out there for any kid to pick up." And those kids learn quickly. Within days, the Melissa outbreak spawned copycat viruses, including Paga, Mad Cow and Synchro. And if it was not already clear that hackers can wreak havoc on the Internet, the post was underlined last week as NATO, engaged in its campaign against Yugoslavia, found its Web page bombarded by Serb messages.

The Melissa outbreak erupted on Friday, March 26, and, despite public warnings over the weekend, it spread on Monday with unprecedented speed as office workers lagged on and opened incoming e-mail. Melissa presented itself in a message with a subject heading that read: "Important message from," followed by the full name of the person who sent the message. When the e-mail was opened, the message said: "Here is that document you asked for... don't share anyone else's." Attached to the e-mail was a Word document with various names, including "Jed" and "Jed." Opening that document, which contained the Internet addresses of pernicious Web pages, triggered the macro virus. And if the mail recipient used Microsoft's Outlook e-mail system, the virus automatically sent the same message—and unsolicited attachments—to the first 50 people on the receiver's e-mail address book.

But who created Melissa? On Thursday night, after a search aided by instructions from the big Internet service provider America Online, police arrested Daniel L. Smith, 30, of Aberdeen, N.J. He could face up to 40 years in prison and a fine as high as \$750,000 on charges including interruption of public communications, conspiracy and theft of computer service. The arrest followed a week of investigations along the electronic highway. A number of messages on Internet bulletin boards suggested the virus was first posted by someone using the signature Sky Robot. That led authorities to Scott Simonovic, a civil engineer at Lynwood, Wash., who holds an America Online account under that alias. But he denied any link to Melissa, saying someone else must have stolen his e-mail name. "Here I am associated with it," he said, "and I'm barely computer literate." The FBI meanwhile seized a computer from a Florida-based Internet access provider. It was not immediately clear if there was any connection between that seizure and the subsequent arrest.

Whoever is eventually found at fault, computer users may at first owe a debt to Melissa. "It warned us that next time we won't be so lucky," says Holt. "The next one could be capable of doing bad things to your files." By then, with any luck, computer users will be more wary of the perils that can lurk in unsolicited e-mail.



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## Health

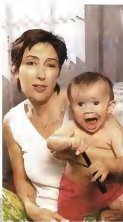
### Rethinking AIDS

A growing lobby  
challenges the  
HIV connection

Christine Maggiore tested positive in 1993 for HIV, the virus blamed for a disease that has killed 12 million deaths in the global AIDS epidemic that began in the late 1970s. Yet today, the many HIV carriers who evade the disease for a decade or longer, she remains free of symptoms. "I consider myself to be exceptionally healthy," insists the 42-year-old Maggiore, who attributes that to the fact that she has never taken any of the powerful drugs routinely prescribed for people with HIV. In fact, Maggiore believes HIV is probably harmless—and plays no part in the sickness and death attributed to AIDS. The articulate Maggiore, leader of a Los Angeles-based group called *Alive and Well*, has emerged as a leading spokeswoman for a small but persistent fringe movement whose members challenge the conventional wisdom that HIV causes AIDS—that AIDS is an infection, sexually transmitted disease.

The dissenters argue that physicians blinded by the HIV "myth" are harming patients by prescribing drugs that can themselves undermine the human immune system. "It is tragic," says Gilbert Tronter, secretary of the Vancouver chapter of *HEAL* (for Health Education AIDS Liaison), the New York City-based body that is the principal HIV dissent organization, "that so many people are being treated with toxic drugs for a virus whose existence is doubtful."

But if HIV is not dangerous, what is causing AIDS? In the contrarian view, AIDS does not actually exist—it is, the dissenters argue, simply a label slapped on a group of conditions and diseases that include several types of cancer, pneumonia, tuberculosis and weight loss in people whose immune systems have been damaged by "lifestyle" factors such as drug abuse and malnutrition. As for HIV—the alleged pathogen at



Maggiore with her son, Charles, 'exceptionally healthy'

the centre of orthodox AIDS theory—many dissenters claim that it is probably a harmless particle that may have been lodged in some 'hurdled' gross for countless generations. "If you are HIV-positive and go to a doctor," says Maggiore, "whatever problem you have will be regarded as HIV-related."

Arguments like that are angrily rejected by mainstream medical experts and AIDS organizations. "There is a huge body of evidence showing that HIV is the cause of AIDS," says Dr. Mark Wainberg, president of the Stockholm-based International AIDS Society. "I am totally contemptuous of the groups that dispute this—their arguments are a fundamental insult to all the people who have contracted HIV and died of AIDS." Wainberg worries that the dissenters' claims can persuade HIV-infected people to

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## HEALTH

refuse standard medical treatment, and infection or die prematurely as a result. That fear is shared by officials in some AIDS agencies. "We hear of people with HIV who fall under the spell of these ideas," says Tim McCauld II of Toronto-based AIDS Action Now. "They don't get treated, they get really sick and die. That's one of the dangers."

For mainstream researchers, the success of protease inhibitors—a class of drugs designed to prevent HIV from multiplying in the human bloodstream—stands as irrefra-

gory proof of the HIV/AIDS connection. Protease inhibitors are not a cure, but they can dramatically prolong AIDS patients' lives. Approved for use in Canada three years ago, their introduction coincided with a marked decline in North American AIDS deaths. According to Health Canada, only 66 deaths were attributed to AIDS last year, down from 1,419 in 1985. "I would have thought," says Dr. Martin Schreiber, director of epidemiology at the Toronto Collaborative Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS, who is con-

vinced that the new drugs are reducing the AIDS death toll, "that the advent of these successful new drugs would have put a nail in the coffin of the anti-HIV movement."

It will likely take a lot more than a reduced rate of AIDS mortality to do that. If HIV causes AIDS, says Carl Stragg, a spokesman for BEAL, Toronto, "then how do you explain that a large number of HIV people survive for years without taking these drugs?" Even if the HIV theory were decisively proved wrong, says chemist David Ransick, a visiting scientist at the University of California, Berkeley, and one of the handful of academic researchers who question the HIV hypothesis, "how likely are the thousands of researchers who have staked their reputations on the HIV thesis to turn around and say, 'Sorry, folks, we made a mistake?'"

Critics like Stragg and Ransick have been contesting the HIV theory almost from the start, early in 1984, when American and French scientists announced that an obscure retrovirus—which came to be known as the human immunodeficiency virus—was the source of a deadly plague spreading among gay men. Founded in New York City in 1982 as an early AIDS support group, HEAL subsequently began challenging the HIV hypothesis. Today, HEAL has chapters in 24 North American cities, including Vancouver and Toronto, and five in Europe. HEAL and like-minded organizations do not have formal memberships, but they claim a substantial following. Maggione says her organization has a mailing list of about 4,000, including many gay men and others who have tested HIV positive.

One of the newest dissent organizations was launched in February, when David Crowe, a Calgary telecommunications consultant, set up the Alberta Anti-oppressing AIDS Society, largely for the purpose of opposing the Alberta government's policy of encouraging all pregnant women to undergo HIV tests. Such testing is dangerous, contends Crowe, because it often produces erroneous results. And the belief that they are HIV-positive can persuade fertility women to start using anti-fertilizer drugs that can, claims Crowe, cause cancer and birth defects.

Like other arguments put forward by the dissenters, that claim is based, at best, on a partial truth. According to Dr. Susan King, a physician at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children who specializes in pediatric HIV infection, one AIDS drug, which now carries a warning, has been linked to birth defects, and although there are warnings about some other AIDS drugs, none has been clearly linked to cancer. For physicians battling AIDS, an equally pressing concern is the harm that may be done by Christine Maggione and her fellow campaigners who seem intent on pressing their case, even at the possible cost of human lives.

MARK NICHOLS

The War Amps

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Edited by  
TANTA DAVIES

**C**ee Summer is enjoying her second career. Best-known for co-starring in the U.S. television series *A Different World* from 1986 to 1993, Summer is now finding success as a professional musician. Her debut album, *Street Fighter*, will be released on April 30, and then she will tour Europe and the United States for 11 weeks with *Lenny Kravitz*. In August, she will perform across Canada with *Sarah McLachlan*'s *(L)it Fair Stone* ("I'm all about gratitude," exclaims Summer, 29, who says it reflects her eclectic background).

Suzanne was born in Etobicoke, Ont., to parents **Lib Clark** and Canadian actor **Don Francks**. Both her parents were attracted to native culture and gave her an aboriginal name. The family moved to the Red Pheasant Indian reserve near North Battleford, Sask., when Suzanne was a baby. Six years later, Francks uprooted his family again, this time to Toronto, where

The character John Cleese portrays in his latest film, *The Out-of-Seasons*, appears tailor-made for the British comedian: a condescending English hotel manager who "lives in dress up in women's clothing and do a sulky dance." "When I read the script, I thought that this was a wonderful part," says Cleese, 58, who co-stars with Goldie Hawn and Steve Martin. "But wearing four-inch stilettos did worry me—they were wrecked to death."

It wasn't the first time Cleave has worn women's shoes. Born in Weston-super-Mare, England, he graduated from Cambridge University with a law degree, but decided to become a comedic performer and writer in 1998. Cleave and five friends created the off-the-wall comedy troupe *Monty Python*.



Summer later performed with local bands and joined theatre groups. She moved to Los Angeles in 1988, and had more luck in acting than in what she really wanted to do, singing. "With acting, I felt someone would discover I really didn't know what I was doing," says Summer. "But music is my passion, my life."

whose skirts frequently required them to dress up as women. The now-legendary group had a BBC TV series and made four films, including *And Now for Something Completely Different* (1971) and *Life of Brian* (1979). In 1975, Cleese wrote and starred in the hugely popular TV series *Monty Python*.

Today, Cleeve lives in London with his third wife, Alyce, and reportedly now has two daughters. Cleeve has previous marriages. Besides acting in the old films, he is a professor at large at Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y., lecturing for various faculties, including business and psychology. Turning 80 in October, Cleeve says that he would like to retire soon, but jokes about a lack of post-employment savings. "This money stuff is a very inconvenient arrangement," he says. "The trouble is I never have quite enough stuff."



**B**ritish author Alex Garland was never thought he would be a novelist—he wanted to draw cartoons. “But as luck as it is to get novel published,” says Garland, 28, “it is even harder to get a comic strip in a newspaper.” So he dropped the cartoons and stuck with the words, finding success with his first novel, *The Beach*.

Based on his trip to Southeast Asia, the book—about a group of travellers who try to find drugs on an island in Thailand—became a cult hit when it was published in 1996. The next year, it became a best-seller; the film rights were sold; and *Leviathan* by D.C. Coyle was



signed to star for a reported \$32 million. "The bigger the white scene got," Garland says, "the more separated became from it." He quietly finished his second book, *The Rosewater*, which he had started before *The Beach* was published. Set in the Philippines, *The Rosewater* revolves around three different stories that violently connect at the conclusion. And what will his third novel be about? "I haven't started it, and I wish I had," says Garland. "Once this *Beach* stuff winds down, I'll just go back to being another unknown author."



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■ Spirit Head, 1989; The Boy Under a Kayak, 1990 (left); Fighting with a Bear, 1990 (below); the 150 sculptures and prints of Inupiat are a powerful antidote to the slow-working statues of Eskimo Inuit

## The familiar subjects pulse with implied motion



have been exposed to too many polar bears in too many airport gift shops. But Inupiat "I remember" as Inuit art, the level language of the sculpture to the slow working statue of Inuit Inuit. These were the familiar subject subjects—whose generic content is little in the window of touristy boutiques across Canada—strut with their own energy. The owl that eluded a connoisseur's "wow" from Houston is about to fly. A walrus by Oskari Iperio, one of the pieces from Houston's own collection, rises up powerfully in a muscular hump, its eye bulging with suggested effort.

Less dynamic, but just as arresting, are the more abstract sculptures of Andy Milu, identified in his work as Inuit Inuit, Dog Inuit, and simply Animal. To see Flackstein, the Inuit artist, faces Milu gave his creatures bring to mind the work of Constantin Brancusi, the Romanian modernist whose sculptures the corner from the Keweenaw region certainly never saw. Milu, who died in 1983, was a troubled man whose art and art were marked by a hard life during which he experienced some warlike years that once "if you had met him," Houston says, "you would say he wasn't quite right."

Milu's stripped-down animals form one of the show's several clusters of work by major Inuit artists. "I've created little mini-exhibitions," explains von Flackstein. "Anybody intrigued by a particular artist should have a few pieces to see." But the overall organization is by region and community, with some striking results. Seen together, for example, several sculptures made in the 1950s in Salluit, Que., are a revelation. A standing woman, by Inuit Inuit Tayenne, bends forward at the waist, one hand raised to bring food to her mouth. The animal composition is wonderfully graceful. Next to her another woman, sculpted by Jobey Inuit Papigaitak, tapers her intricately carved braids. Both are made of the same elegant, light-grey stone and share a quiet dignity.

None of that reflective quality is seen in the art of the community of Povungnituk, also in Quebec's north. Instead, a serpentine monster spirals above the wide-eyed head of a woman; a boy wears a guide down beneath a Inuit bear about to upset. And along with this sort of implied motion, there is real movement in a little head of Houston, a creature carved of stone, ivory and wood by Cape Dorset's Poodik Poodik. "It's special feature," Houston laughs, "is that it has teeth that wiggle to represent the way I was trying to learn Inuktitut." There is nothing like it in any airport souvenir shop.

JOHN GEDDES



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technology has in store for life on the planet, and possibly beyond. And once you have seen the future, you might want to go back in time to the Middle Ages and follow Germany's trail of princes and knights at any number of fairy-tale castles and historic festivals this summer.

For more information contact the German National Tourist Office, (416) 968-1570; e-mail [germaninfo@direct.com](mailto:germaninfo@direct.com) or visit the EXPO Web site [www.EXPO2000.de](http://www.EXPO2000.de)

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You won't want to miss the non-stop party on Bourbon Street, but once you have been there and done that, here is a list of more hot spots both in and out of the French Quarter.

1) Rent a car and head out to *Avoye Island* in New Orleans, home of the plantation of the McPherson family and its world-famous Tabasco sauce. From this obscure corner of Louisiana, 75 million bottles of liquid fire are shipped yearly to the far corners of the world. Along with a tour of the plant where you will see the peppers being aged like fine wine in wooden casks, the 200-acre Jungle Gardens are home to some 25,000 money plants as well as alligators and gator-eaters head with Spicabusters. At the Country Store you can pick up some Cajun bread and join an your wardrobe with items closely designed to accompany the Tabasco legs. Can you resist the chili pepper swimming trunks?

2) Take the quiet St. Charles Avenue carriage to the garden district and tour the stately mansions with private guides. You might spot the home of author Anne Rice of vampire fame.

3) Get a craving for oysters and atmosphere? Pull up a bar stool at *Acme Oyster and Seafood Restaurant*, 724 Bienville Street, where the baristas are dressed right in front of you and served straight up, can the malleable croaker. There's a beach bar in the woods for customers who forget to pay the bill.



4) Drink the European Jazz Pub, 713 Bourbon Street, was a brothel and a chapel before it became the kind of jazz bar you hoped you would find in New Orleans. Go late when the musicians who have finished their gigs elsewhere come here to toast their home and drink a Guinness. Major.

5) Spend Riverside Park along the Mississippi, then spend an hour or so at the Aquarium of the Americas. The four mass exhibits feature up-close encounters with marine life from the Amazon River Basin, The Caribbean Reef, the Mississippi River and the Gulf Coast.

For more information, call the Louisiana Office of Tourism 1-800-435-0070.

## Singapore Fling

Food is a national passion among Singaporeans and from July 2-23 the world is invited to share this culinary experience at the 1999 annual Singapore Food Festival. The Lion City was founded in 1819 by Englishman Sir



Stanford Raffles. Chinese, Indians, Malays, Europeans and people from the rest of Asia flocked to Singapore, creating a veritable United Nations of races and cultures—and a tantalizing blend of culinary tastes. The movable feast includes dinner on the Orient Express, tea with the Singapore, a wine and dine salon at the zoo, wine tasting atop Mount Faber and gastro-tourism through Chinatown, Little India and the Spice Garden. For a nightcap head to the long bar at Raffles Hotel, haunt of such writers as Joseph Conrad, Rudyard Kipling and Noel Coward and hence to the Singapore Sing.

For more information, contact the Singapore Tourism Board, Tel: (416) 363-8338, Web site: [www.singapore-tourism.com](http://www.singapore-tourism.com)



## Prepay Europe

If the price tag on a trip to Britain or Europe seems high, consider that over 30 years ago return airfare from Toronto to London was \$565, this year Signature Vacations is offering flights to the British Isles starting at \$499. How's that for deflation? Martha Chapman, manager of corporate communications for Signature Vacations, advises that the best way to stick to your budget is to prepay. Year flight, hotel or \$160 vouchers for independent travelers or "City Packs"—a two-day accommodation and sightseeing tour package to some of Europe's greatest cities, rental cars and insurance and rail passes including the Channel can all be purchased before you leave in Canadian dollars.

Ask your travel agent for the Signature Vacations Britain & Europe brochure (April - October 1999).

By Anita Dasgupta

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# Globe-trotting with George

By GEORGE BUTTERFIELD

## A Walk in the Hills of Tuscany

Ideally, I would wake up in the middle of an olive grove in Tuscany. Maybe by an olive dropping on my head. After a cappuccino, I would walk through the Chianti vineyards, fields of poppies and olive groves, and wander about the estate of Locanda dell'Amore. The converted monastery where I would also spend the night. I would probably spot at least one balloon floating by. Then I would make my way up to the towers of San Gimignano, which dominate the hillside of Tuscany, for a glass of vin santo. A big part of my Tuscan experience would have to be dinner, and it would definitely include bruschetta, crostini, a pizza or a moto con funghi, a veal dish, perhaps some home-made tortelli. A Chianti should accompany this meal, but because I would prefer an Amore, I have come all this way. I think I would borrow a bottle from the Veneto before waddling back to the Locanda for the remainder of the evening. Best time to visit: April through June, September and October.



## Camels and Casbahs in Morocco

This would be a once-in-a-lifetime experience. I would wake up in the per-Sahara of Morocco, where my camel would be waiting. I would ride across the desert until the midday sun made it too hot to ride anymore. At that point, I would conveniently come upon an oasis where I would sit in the cool of the date palms drinking mint tea and looking out over the sunbaked casbahs and endless dunes of the Sahara. Appropriately rejuvenated, I would once again mount my camel and head toward camp. Its exact location would be a surprise, but just as I rounded the corner of that last sand dune, it would come into view. In reality, I would hear it first: The music of the fiercest dances gathered there would fill the desert. The sun would be setting and the entire campsite would be lit with torches and the glow from a massive campfire. We would dance to Berber music all night, feasting on couscous and tagines and sharing stories of the desert as we circled the fire. I would drift off to sleep in the comfort of my personal tent hung with colorful tribal rugs. Best time to visit: February through April.



## Lunenburg Lobster Fest

Lunenburg World Heritage Site, must be one of North America's most enchanting and untouched fishing villages. The old town is resplendent with houses of vibrant reds, greens and yellows all built on a hill that slopes down to the wharf and the ocean. There is a strong wind and potent ocean smells of fishing boats and the great tides. Seals bob in the distance, sea gulls swoop everywhere and fishermen work their dories. Because food is becoming something of a recurring theme in my adventure (it has been that way all my life), I would go on a clam dig and then boiled a lobster boat to get what I would need for a huge lobster boil that night. Best time to visit: June through September.



### Traversing the Turkish Coast

In Turkey you would find me hiking the spectacular Turquoise Coast, where the rugged mountains meet the Mediterranean. The trail I am thinking of winds through pine forests past several sites of Roman and Lycian ruins. That afternoon I would spend aboard my traditional Turkish

gulet sailing yacht, visiting quiet anchorages and unspoiled fishing villages. I would lunch on exquisitely prepared swordfish kebabs from the comfort of the boat deck, perhaps stopping to snorkel later in the afternoon. The day's end would be heralded by the setting of the sun behind the dramatic Tarkish coastline, which would not leave my sight before the last ray of light had vanished. Only then would I slip below to my cabin for another perfect sleep, lulled by the gentle rhythms of the wind-dark sea. Best time to visit: April through June, September and October.



### Golf and Guinness in Ireland

I would spend my morning walking the Connemara coastline. It would be cold and misty of course, and I would pass peat bogs, flocks of sheep and stone walls formed slowly over many centuries with the peaks of the Twelve

Bens always looming behind. I could not leave out a visit to Ireland for three reasons: golf, Guinness and the million shades of green that colour this land. Its rich history and extraordinary people bring you into the pubs, not only for a pint and some Celtic music, but also for the heat of the peat fire and the stories of the locals. After a fine pub lunch, I would probably head off for a round of golf at one of the great links courses—Lahinch or Ballybunion. With any luck, I would not drive too many balls into the ocean along these fairways that look as though they drop straight into the sea. To top off this day though, granted, a bit of a geographical leap, I would wander into the sunset, pint of Guinness in hand, along the Cliffs of Moher, the Aran Islands just visible in the distance. Best time to visit: June through September.

### Biking in Burgundy

I would save the best for last and allow myself two full days biking in Burgundy. For me, biking is the greatest way to travel and it is rarely independent of walking and dining (especially in Burgundy). This is the land of the greatest biking and the greatest wines on earth. It is still the only place I know where you can blow from châteaux to châteaux through the vineyards, reascending through medieval villages. I would begin my two days in

Gennevilliers and cycle along the hillside that produces the greatest Pinot Noirs in the world, then head south to Nuits-sous-les-Rocres where the whites are unparalleled. I would not miss dinner at Les Millelimes. I would spend my night in the medieval walled village of Beaune, wine capital of the universe. In the morning, I would ride through the vineyards of the Côte de Nuits. After dropping in to admire the tiled rooftops of Aloxe-Corton, I would end up at the greatest picnic site in the world. Magically spread before me in the midst of vineyards (preferably perched on the wall of Corton-Charlemagne at Bonnesau du Marais) with the world's most famous vines at my feet would be my final, ultimate meal. Among the many Burgundian creations on which I would feast would be freshly baked baguettes and lots of delectable cheeses—Époisses, Cîteaux, some local cheese and perhaps a little Camembert borrowed from Normandy. There would definitely be saucissons sec, some cornichons, jambon persillé and a little Dijon mustard. After several hours of feasting, sipping wine, basking in the sun, I would probably take one last leisurely cycle. And I would end my travels sipping the wines of Dominique Laffont's cellars in Meursault before heading home to Toronto. Best time to visit: June through October.

For more information on Butterfield & Swire's itineraries and departure dates, call 1-800-629-1147 or visit the Web site at [www.butterfield.com](http://www.butterfield.com).



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# CHOOSING A CRUISE

IT MIGHT BE EASIER THAN YOU THINK

Do not let marketing hype for all those cruises get you down. You can maximize the fun by simply picturing three things on a stateroom:

On the bottom rung is the budget cruises. On the top rung are the boutique cruises. And every thing else is grouped in the middle.

You can pinpoint a budget cruise because the price (at \$150 a day, Caribbean itineraries) usually sounds too good to be true. On the other hand, a boutique cruise price (at \$500 a day) makes most of us gasp. So that's why 90 per cent of ships (\$300 to \$400 a day) have positioned themselves in the middle. And on that middle rung I mention, a cruise is a cruise is a cruise.

Most cruise packages (the cruise experience) in pretty much the same way. It is a universal formula, devised and developed over the past 30 years or so, and it works every time. Now it is true that on this middle rung, ships still vary to a degree in luxury and style. But they vary like a Hilton does to a Marriott, or a Western night to a CP hotel. Not a great deal. In other words, with mid-market ships—and this includes among others, the newer vessels of Carnival, Norwegian, Royal Caribbean, Princess, Celebrity, Holland America, Canard—you do not have to worry about

going terribly wrong.

On all lines, for example, you will get lavish meals, attentive cabin service, day and nighttime entertainment, scheduled on-board activities, port-of-call lectures, a shopping and entertainment promenade deck, an array of dance floors, midnight buffets, a casino, a fitness facility, a swimming pool deck and with an enthusiastic staff coordinating it all.

What you should note however is that some cruise lines emphasize some elements more than others. Some specialize in cabaret and stage productions. Others have the edge on culture. Some have developed sophisticated children's programs. Others build ships to honour golden-age traditions, while others build

them bigger and higher, and in stranger shapes than ever. So, who are you? Cruise experts suggest that if you can identify your personal style you will find the right ship.

In other words, how do you picture yourself on a cruise? Are you quietly relaxing? Are you fascinated by people? Will you be keenly anticipating every gourmet meal? Do you plan to socialize, exercise and swim? Are winds, new horizons, and new cultures a priority? Are you deeply bed, early to rise? Or, are there never going to be enough bright

lights for you? If you see a little of all these things, the good news is most ships are 100. But since for most of us our cruise will be the vacation of a lifetime, we should be able to do better than that.

Once we concede that cruise lines in the mid-price range generally follow an industry-wide formula, we need only to examine three or four critical areas. Start by choosing a cruise counselor who will help to target your particular current zones, as they apply to people, food, sleep and price. If you do not have a cruise-only agency nearby, select a travel company with agents specifically trained. You will know the good ones because they will start out by asking you more questions than you ask them.

Price is a tempting place to begin. It helps counselors determine if money is no object, or if your dream of a cruise should wait until next year. Once you have nailed down the most you are willing to pay, then you can begin to explore the type of cruise your money can buy. But retail getting categorized by price. Once you are in the mid-market range, almost every vessel has a cabin you can afford. On the price ships it might be on a lower deck, but you will still get every single one of the ship's upscale services.

It is more important at the outset to determine your social style and circumstances. Consider the following questions: What level of formality do you require, or reject? Are you outgoing and do you prefer people around you to be outgoing too? How well do you adjust to dining with strangers? Are you on your honeymoon? Do you want to bring children? Is it important that the people around you are like you, or close in age? Are you looking at a cruise as a romantic retreat, or as a way to meet and make new friends? Once you have answered all these questions, you will be in a much better position to eliminate.

Cruise vacations continue to produce the highest rates of overall satisfaction, according to findings by the actual travel trade. It appears then, that when 90 per cent of passengers say they would definitely cruise again—and when eight million people are expected to be cruising by the turn of the century—one can only conclude that the majority might be right. ■

By Jane Siskin

## CHEFSHINE

Views, food quality, and the overall dining experience are clearly top priorities in the most important elements of a cruise. Fortunately, most ships pull out all the stops by offering multiple ways to dine—from room service to formal dinners, pool-side grills, specialty restaurants and lavish multi-course buffets. Keeping in mind that most mainline ships serve from 300 to 1,300 meals at one sitting, it is rare to get a dish cooked to order. Still, most cruise lines do remarkably well at turning the nightly dining experience into a festive occasion.

If you are a gourmet, however, and a big part of the cruise is the promise of Epicurean cuisine, then take heed: the swiftest, spiciest, bougiest cruises will suit you best. If you are like most people, and enjoy a variety of styles and experimenting with some of the world's boutique cuisines, you will probably be impressed by what mid-market ships can achieve. Do not fall into the trap of paying for food that a farmer's table at home would require; it is much better to spend your money on your cabin—where you are going to sleep and spend private time.

## CABIN

Imagine the space to be about half the size of a standard hotel room, or even smaller if the ship is more than 18 years old. Cabins have been designed with efficiency in mind—lots of hooks and hangers, shelves and drawers. Bathrooms are compact and highly functional—once you get used to winky-box showers and suction toilets and most you have stopped stubbing your toe on a shower and doorway lip. Newer ships have improved these things.

So why, people ask, do cabins vary so much in price throughout the ship? Bunk beds can be double and triple on different decks for virtually the same experience. It is true, the cabin size and in-room amenities do not change that much from deck to deck (bunk excepted). Rather, price categories are based on location—on the subtleties of convenience, comfort and privilege. The lower you go, especially on older ships, the greater the risk of air temperature variations, engine noises and portholes with obstructed views. Limitations are marginal, but they are possible—just like operating rules are possible anywhere on a ship.

Ask yourself if you need to pay more if cabin facilities and service are basically the same. Are you craving for the fantasy of a romantic cabin? Will an "inside" location with no natural light, suffice for seven days? Are you a light sleeper? Is a bathtub a must? A single bed, or bunk, not of the question? Sweet dreams, they say, make for happy customers.

## CRUISE GUIDES

Key Shovelton's and Bob Schinger's 300-page, *The Unofficial Guide to Cruising* (New York: 1994) covers the main cruise lines and their ships, unique strong points and weaknesses and explains how vacationers can get the best deal.

*Cruise Vacations with Kids* (Prima Publishing) by Candace H. Shapiro has been called the answer to parents' prayers when it comes to family cruising.

## CRUISE AGENCIES

For a travel agency in your area that specializes in cruise vacations, look in the yellow pages. Or ask people you know who have taken a cruise. Word of mouth is often the best way to get top quality help. Here are some you might want to consider:  
The Cruise People (800) 268-6523  
Cruise Holidays (800) 345-3628  
Cruisesolutions (800) 737-7327

## WHICH CRUISE LINE?

Where possible, select a ship no more than 10 years old, unless it has been substantially refurbished. We and match the options below with that of a cruise specialist to determine which line would suit you best.

Overall best, price no object:  
Seabourn Cruise Line, Silversea, Windstar Cruises, Crystal Cruises

Best mid-price cruise ships for age 18-49:  
Carnival Cruise Lines, Royal Caribbean Cruise Line, Norwegian Cruise Line, Club Med (cruising)

Widestrange-licensed Cruise (cruising)  
Best mid-price cruise ships for age 50-64:  
Celebrity Cruise Lines, Princess Cruises, Holland America

Best mid-price cruise ships for age 65-74:  
Holland America Line, Princess Cruises, Canard, Crystal Cruises

For two-week vacations of all ages:  
Carnival Cruise Lines, Royal Caribbean Cruise Lines, Princess Cruises, Disney Cruise Line

For honeymooners: smaller choices to age categories considered. Ideal romantic cruises include the Star Cruises, Wind Star, Sea Goddess Cruises, Norwegian, Norwegian Dining is more romantic if you pre-book a table for two.

For families: Princess Cruise Line, Disney Cruise Line, Carnival Cruise Lines

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## Films

# Sweet magnolia

A revered director has fun with Dixie stereotypes

COOKIE'S FORTUNE  
Directed by Robert Altman

Just when you thought Robert Altman had done it all, he serves up southern gothic misadventure with some comedy. The revered U.S. director has worked in just about every genre—stage (MASH, The Player), non-so-vaudey sitcom (Nashville, Ready to Wear), romantic western (McCabe and Mrs. Miller), current logic (Vincent and Theo). Now with *Cookie's Fortune*, he goes down to small-town Mississippi and has a ball with Dixie stereotypes. There's the duty old man (Patton Oswalt), her lusty black caretaker (Charles S. Dutton), the blonde Duke-style faded belle (Gina Groll), the melancholic Andy of *Naperville* cops (Neil Patrick Harris), the courtly aged lawyer dressed all in white (Donald Sutherland). For good measure, Altman and screenwriter Anne Rapp have thrown in a few more skeletons in the closet. But this is a gothic misadventure with good fun. *Cookie's Fortune* is perfectly light fare for spring, a warm morsel of local color.

Among the movie's charms is the interaction of two superb actors, Neil and Dutton.



Tyler and Dutton skidoo in the desert

Movie legend Neil plays Jewel Mae (Cookie) Orcutt, a kindly pipe smoking eccentric who has never got over the demise of her beloved husband, Buck. If it weren't for her

boardroom-loving helper, Willie (Dutton), who likes to prepare cashed checks for her, she probably wouldn't have made it this far. She also cherishes her rebellious grandniece, Emma (Lia Tyler), who has just returned to town.

But Camille Blanton (Groll), Cookie's estranged niece and Emma's aunt, can't wait for the old lady to choke on a cobblestone so that she'll inherit her antebellum mansion. For the time being, however, Camille is preoccupied with mounting an Easter production of the play *Salome* at her church. Directing the show as if it were about to open on Broadway, Camille exhorts her actors to be "organic." Such are her delusions of grandeur that on a sign outside she announces the forthcoming production "by Oscar Wilde and Camille Blanton." It features Cara (Julianne Moore), Camille's sister-in-law, and Emma's mother-in-law, but the wretched Cara is a mere puppet to Camille's pious diatribe (old, lace-lunatic, hunchbacked, lousy).

Close has fun playing yet another Cruella de Villains, her specialty since 1987's *Fatal Attraction*. And Moore, cast against type, is winningly funny as a completely fixated woman. *Cookie's Fortune* is a mix of a movie, a sweet, optimistic look. There's a rare film that prominently features policemen, but lacks horrible violence; instead, a cop and a murder suspect play Scrabble superlatively in a jail cell. In the end, the movie of *Cookie's Fortune* has charms happen only to bad folks—and a person can really know another's character because they've gone fishing together.

PATRICIA HELICITY

## Going nowhere, with style

Like most youth-market flicks, *Never Been Kissed* and *Go* are junk-food, bring-it-all-backing sensation. But they come from opposite ends of the teen-film reinforcement stand. *Never Been Kissed*, starring Drew Barrymore, is as predictably sweet as a Slurpee. And it could almost have been made in the 1950s: an accidental dose of leishish leads to disgrace, while the coldest, most on-the-edge boy in high school gets the girl he worships into a bedroom in order to ask her to the prom. Meanwhile, *Go*, aimed at a slightly older audience, is all of the salt 'n' vinegar persuasion. The 15th U.S. big-screen lead for Candice Swanepoel, it finds humor in drugs, sex and life's absurdity. It's the better movie, but that's not saying a whole lot.

Directed by Doug Liman, who made the 1996 college hit *Swingers*, *Go* focuses on a group of alienated young people in Los Angeles. They include 18-year-old supermarket clerk Emma (Pooley), who can't pay her rent. When her drug-dealer co-worker gets out of town on the day of a rave, she decides to fill the pharmacological vacuum and sell some ecstasy herself. Naturally, things go wrong. One of her accomplices, Nikina, decides to pop

two tabs and ends up communicating telepathically with a cat. (The movie provides hilarious subtitles for their little-a-little) And Emma barely eludes a boogie drug sting.

*Go* has an abundance of delicious humor and energy. Pooley, meanwhile, brings the same assurance she showed in *Acid Eaters*. The Sweet Surrender is a far more interesting take on the hard-bitten theme. But loaded down as it is with Los Vegas subplot and Tarantino-style violence, *Go* never quite gets anywhere.

*Never Been Kissed* is a variation on the teenage-of-the-nerds theme. Josh Geller (Barrymore), a former high-school geek supreme, is the chief copy editor at a Chicago newspaper and a high grammarian. When the paper assigns her to be printed to be a door-to-door and write an advertisement for a sex clinic, she agrees to class still a nerd. But Josh evolves into a woman who wears tight, low-cut tops, which in the movie signifies personal growth. Ultimately, she triumphs with a piece of personal journalism that makes her a local celebrity. Lead by Barrymore in voice-over, it has a common grammatical error in one of the first sentences. But then, this is a completely safe movie for parents—nor for anyone who has spent off *Slurpees*.

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## For the Record

### The old and the new

Veteran acts and a novice diva deliver fine work

**TEARS OF STONE**  
The Chieftains  
(BMG)

Alfie the world, it seems, loves a good Irish ballad. Having collaborated with male musicians from Sting to The Rolling Stones on 1985's acclaimed *Long Black Veil* album, The Chieftains now offer female stars a turn on *Tears of Stone*, which features both joyous and melancholy songs about women and love. The esteemed Celtic guest artists include a strong Canadian contingent—singers Lauren McKernitt, Natalie MacMaster and The Rankins—as well as Ireland's finest O'Connell and The Corrs. But surprises are equally abundant; Jazm Mitchell does a stark, post-punk-infused version of Mopehead's *Lambada*, her 1994 song about a brutal Irish nursery, that is even more disturbing than the original. American country singer Mary Chapin Carpenter's *Unleash the Soldier* eerily evokes Garth, while Japan's Akiko Yano serves up an Oriental answer to *Whiskey in the Jar*, but the album's real high notes come from New York City singer Juan Osborne, who delivers a stirring version of *Baylen Road*, and Canadian jazz star Diana Krall, who turns even that old Irish chestnut *Danny Boy* into something fresh and poignant. By raising the unexpected with the familiar, The Chieftains have managed to make *Tears of Stone* yet another jewel Celtic collection.



The Chieftains, a strong Canadian contingent

sounds like a cross between Summer and Prince, complete with synthesizer effects right out of the 1980s. But in the end, it is Byrne's unbridled energy, especially on *Good Love* and the anthemic *Baby Face*—, that keeps it edgy and up-to-date. With her spunky amplification and downtown attitude, Patina is one of the hottest new prospects in the growing urban music field.

**VALENCE STREET**  
The Neville Brothers  
(Columbia/Sony)

As the First Family of Punk, The Neville Brothers have been keepers of pop's polyrhythmic Beat for more than 40 years. The veteran New Orleans group's latest, experimental groove reached a north on *Valence Street*, the band's brilliant 1989 recording produced by Canada's Daniel Lanois. Since then, however, the Nevilles' output has been sadly inconsistent. But on their Columbia debut, *Valence Street*, the brothers aren't positively recharged, turning Peter, Paul & Mary's civil-rights anthem *We'll Build a Better Man* into a modern, rock-gospel number and providing a joyful, unswerving title track. Even tender tunes like *A Little Piece of Heaven*, featuring Aaron Neville's exquisite, Grammy Award-winning tenor, have a vibrant edge. When they sing "we're the funky four" on the kinetic *Rain Fallin'*, there's really no reason for argument.

NICHOLAS JENNINGS

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# Allan Fotheringham



## The perils of trying to make peace with bombs

When England and Winston Churchill stood alone, so desperate was the situation that the government had to look to its own people.

Small squads of British soldiers would march proudly through country villages. Then leap aboard buses to rush off to another village, to give the late impression of greater numbers. It was a necessary subterfuge to raise national morale—and it worked. So desperate was the situation that Hermann Goering's Luftwaffe was close to destroying the battle-garbed RAF bases on the tight Little Island—before Lord Bessborough, so the surreal production star of the Churchill cabinet, could start turning out those Spitfires and Hurricanes at a record pace.

Churchill decided on a punch-in-five-months, sending his bombers on a surprise long trek to Berlin and back. Hitler, over the music, was so outraged that he overruled Goering and watched the Nazi air attack from Britain's altitudes to bombing British cities and killing civilians.

It did not work, of course, simply stilling that desecrated British sky, the historic site on London the turning point of the war. Hitler of course blamed Goering, who took in influence and at war's close attempted a palace revolution. Hitler condemned him to death but he escaped, to be captured by American troops and, while the chief defendant at the Nuremberg war crimes trial, committed suicide by poison mere hours before his intended execution.

The major point is that you can't bomb a people into submission. The Allies learned this themselves, after the supposed carpet bombing of Germany between 1942 to 1944, the RAF at night, the fire-bombing by day. By the end of the war, historians tell us, German productivity was higher than at the start.

You can't bomb people into submission. When the Cuban missile crisis was unfolding in October of 1962, I happened to be sitting in the roadway bar of the Hazel Caravelle in Saigon, drinking with David Halberstam of *The New York Times* and Malcolm Browne, who later won Pulitzer Prizes and honors for their dispatches and then books telling the American public that their generals in Viet-



nam were lying about winning the war by dropping bombs on them. Their humble agent moved on, man a Pulitzer, but with his life at risk. Some years later, I found myself at Alan Godley's Canadian Embassy in Washington, seated at a dinner table where Robert Strasser McNamara was still explaining his Vietnam strategy.

Robert Strasser McNamara, the brightest of the "White Kids" in Jack Kennedy's Camelot, was plucked from the presidency of Ford Motor Co. in Detroit and as secretary of defense was largely responsible for the escalation of the insane Vietnam War where, as we know, one U.S. officer explained that in order to "liberate" one Vietnamese village he "had to destroy it."

Those were the days of My Lai and Linet, William Calley Jr., who slaughtered women and children for fun and today it is in prisons as well. Monica Lewinsky Lyndon Johnson, as JFK's new vice-president, was so impressed by the brilliance of McNamara and the officer "Whisk" as he first called him, that he went back,aving, to his old Texas senator in the Congress, Sam Rayburn.

"Yes," drawled Sam, working on his cigar. "But just wish one of them had ever run for sheriff."

Robert Strasser McNamara has given us some something I now see by as we dispatches a has had an epiphany, and is photographed doing a growl in Vietnam, apologizing and genuflecting to the children of the parents that he killed with napalm. He can't handle people no submission. And so we get around to Lloyd Axworthy, who has recently broken The Guinness Book of Records for advancement to postscript Our old ally foreign affairs minister who is truly sought the Nobel Peace Prize for his work on land mines, has been the advocate of "soft power," and much criticism of these many Yanks who are too big to stop.

Clare Kozma, and Axworthy—both known as his "Winning" as "Mr. Pork Barrel"—is as gentle as Robert Strasser McNamara used to be in Vietnam, before the latter turned into a man.

Michael Rhee, the University of Toronto type who is the best of modern Canadian historians, has written that he is "inhabited to be a Canadian" over Ottawa's subservient, kickapile role in the Kosovo disaster.

There wasn't a single debate last month in Parliament over Canada's decision to convert NATO, a defense alliance, into an advisory force, the Reform showed with tens and the Blocsides (on an irrelevant ramp, the NDP feelless, Janisio: Clark not even being able to find Person Manning's phone number).

We have a Prime Minister who is reconnected with the truth about NAFTA, about the GST, about the homeless people he has never met and about how it's more one star's duty that he couldn't get a for a funeral that he wasn't interested in. And now we've got his "soft power" nation who thinks you can bomb people into submission.

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